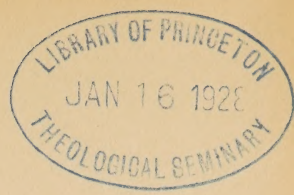


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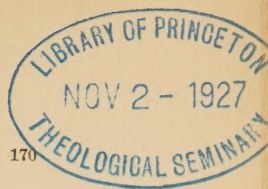
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The Creative Imagination of Théophile Gautier

A Study in Literary Psychology

BY

LOUISE BULKLEY DILLINGHAM

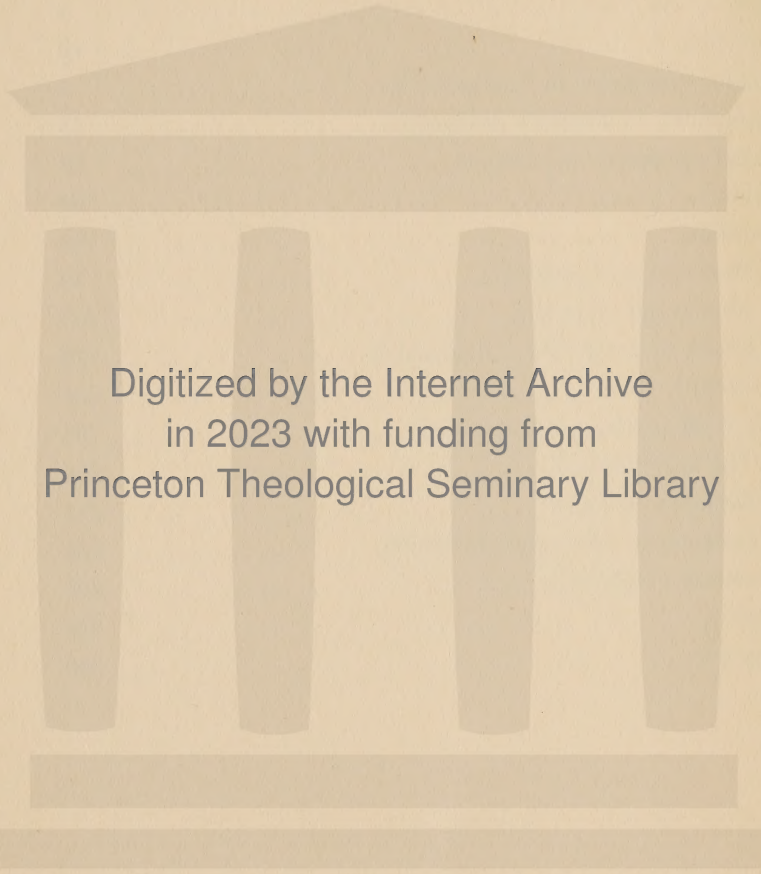
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PREFACE

It is with great pleasure that I express to Professor Eunice Morgan Schenck, who first aroused my interest in Théophile Gautier as a transition-figure, my gratitude for her unfailing aid and sympathetic counsel during the whole preparation of this dissertation.

To Professor Delacroix and Professor Basch of the University of Paris, and especially to Professor James Henry Leuba of Bryn Mawr College, I owe sincere thanks for the information given to me in regard to the psychology of æsthetics. My gratitude is also due to Professor Baldensperger and Professor Hazard of the University of Paris, to M. Lucien Foulet, and to M. Lucien Herr, Bibliothécaire de l'École normale supérieure, for the many suggestions which they were good enough to make during the course of my investigation, for their counsel, and for their encouragement. I have also to thank Professor Samuel Claggett Chew of Bryn Mawr College for his kindness in reading and commenting upon certain portions of the manuscript of this dissertation.

I wish to express to M. René Jasinski my great appreciation of his courtesy and good-will in communicating to me various bibliographical documents in regard to Théophile Gautier, and in sharing with me some of the results of his long study of the author's youth.

It is my duty and my especial pleasure to acknowledge here the courtesy of the Institut de France in granting me the privilege of access to the Collection Lovenjoul at Chantilly. Without the documents contained in the Collection, a part of this study would have been impossible. To the Institut and particularly to its conservator, M. Marcel Bouteron, for his constant kindness and aid, my deep gratitude is due.

INTRODUCTION

The history of romanticism in France shows a new development soon after 1830. The lyrical writings of the early leaders cede gradually to the manifestations of a new literary group, and the creation of form replaces emotional expression as the objective of the artist. This school of writing depends, for its success, on the skill rather than on the personality of the author; sensations and emotions are interesting to it only when they have been transformed by the power of words, through an impersonal and highly stylistic rendering, into Beauty. In the determination of this trend toward art for art's sake, Théophile Gautier was a notable figure. His theory helped innumerable artists to an understanding of the end which they sought; his practice was considered by his disciples the perfection of true art. His development, from the turbulent days of *Hernani* to the years of impassive *feuilletons*, when his representations of visual beauty were regarded with admiration and envy, coincides with the development of the new literary movement. In 1840, Gautier still presented the typical qualities of his early writing, but he possessed already, in germ or well-developed, the traits which were to set him apart in 1870. This artist, although apparently of the romantic school before 1835 and certainly of the Parnassians years later, has a number of constant qualities, and his creative imagination is throughout of a distinctive character. Certainly he is not easily confused with any other writer of his age. Just as surely, his individuality is of importance for the comprehension of the literary group which surrounded him and in which he was an outstanding figure as leader and as critic.

Many characteristics of this individuality have been pointed out, both during the life-time of the author and since his death. Gautier himself considered his imagination that of a poet rather than that of a prose-writer, while, as its distinctive trait, he

pointed out that he was more plastic than literary. Some of his critics have agreed with him in these matters, others have taken exception to his judgment. By many his verbal facility has been set down as his particular talent; to another group his attempt at transpositions, from sensory impressions to varying verbal forms, has seemed his most individual quality. No one critic, perhaps, has considered the great mass of testimony,—autobiographical and biographical material, his finished and unfinished work (published version or manuscript), contemporary and later interpretations of his life and of his production,—in an attempt to determine the particular creative imagination of this transition-figure. It is a complex task. Factors of psychological and of literary interest both come into play. There is to be considered the author's ideal and its accomplishment, his theory and his practice, both intrinsically and in their interaction. His particular mental constitution must be distinguished and defined. Only then can one understand the full bearing of his education—in the *atelier* and the literary *cénacle*, from his reading and from his friends—and it is this education which, in its broad sense, is of interest for the movement in literature marked by the development from the Romanticists of 1830 to the Parnassians, the Realists, and the Symbolists.

The present study is an attempt to begin such an investigation of Théophile Gautier's creative imagination. It is based upon a variety of sources which offer information as to the author's chief characteristics. These sources have been considered from the point of view of the *psychology of the artist* as shown therein, rather than from that of strictly literary or biographical revelation. Interpretation of the documents has been necessary: it is the duty of the investigator to find some scale of relative values to be put on documentary sources, and his also is the task of establishing some psychological criteria by which the evidence may be sifted and conclusions reached with regard to the type of mind in question. The material offered for the study of Gautier's creative imagination is varied in character. There are first of all, and of primary importance, the author's own writings. Here,

in his original and critical work—published version or versions, manuscript corrections and variants—is the most direct evidence of motive and method, of the mind in process, and this body of documents forms a necessary and constant check for all other sources of information. One of these, again, is a direct witness: the non-literary writing of Gautier, for in his short autobiographical sketches and in his correspondence, as well as in the records of his conversations which his contemporaries have inscribed in their diaries or memoirs, valuable facts appear. The more personal judgments of his friends or disciples are also to be considered, and these biographical notes or interpretations of facts must, in turn, be confronted with the discoveries of later critics and with their deductions from the whole body of evidence available after the death of the author, and after the clarification of the intervening years. From all these sources of information, it seems possible that some conclusions may be reached in regard to the relation between the author's theory and his actual practice, in regard to his habits of mind in literary composition.

A few initial definitions are needed in such a study, for the phraseology of psychological discussion is not everywhere the same, and even in the history of literature there appear certain ambiguous terms of which the present employment must be made clear. Thus the word *sentiment*, so general in its application in France, is restricted here—in accordance with British and American usage—to apply to certain emotional tendencies organized about an object. As McDougall defines it in his *Outline of Psychology*, the sentiment “involves an individual tendency to experience certain emotions and desires in relation to some particular object. It is an enduring conative attitude toward an object set up by the experience of the individual” (1).¹ The sentiments may be simple—formed “through the repeated evocation of some one instinctive response by some one object” (the sentiment of fear of the big bully in the small boy); they may, on the other hand, be most complex, as in the sentiment of love for truth or of love for beauty, with its many ramifications. In either

¹ Citations are found at the end of each section.

case, and especially in their interaction and hierarchy, the sentiments are determinants of action, for they are the individual's organized emotions and desires. For the understanding of Gautier's creative imagination, thus, it will be necessary to arrive at the determination of his major sentiments. A second point where definition is desirable at the outset of the study is the meaning of the term *plastic*. It is Gautier's contention that he is "more plastic than literary"; his love for plastic beauty is paramount in the hierarchy of his sentiments. The author himself uses the phrase "arts plastiques" to denote both pictorial and sculptural art. A similar employment of the term is found throughout Romantic art-criticism, and in the discussion of Gautier's own particular talents, the word *plastic* has been applied by a large number of critics to his tendency to deal not only with sculptural but also with pictorial effects, to note colour as well as form in his literary renderings (2). It seems justifiable, then, to continue to use this term to include the two visual arts and their methods. Just what is "the plastic" in literature, however, is another question,—one which will arise in the course of studying Gautier's creative imagination, and which will necessitate an attempt to establish certain psychological criteria by which this quality may be distinguished.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

2. *Cf.*, for example, Gautier's "Salon de 1837," fourth article, *La Presse*, 10 mars 1837:

" . . . Si l'on abandonne l'étude du nu, comme cela est à craindre, . . . les arts plastiques tomberont dans une inévitable décadence; car diviniser le corps humain, sanctifier la beauté, a toujours été le but de la peinture et de la sculpture. . . ."

The definitions of the word *plastic*, offered by Littré and Darmsteter, and in distinction to the English usage, are interesting in this connection:

"Arts plastiques—qui ont pour objet de reproduire les formes des corps" (Darmsteter).

"Les arts plastiques, se dit de tous les arts du dessin. *Fig.* Il se dit de la poésie, quand elle s'efforce, par le vers, de peindre et de sculpter. . . . La plastique, nom donné, chez les Grecs, à toutes les branches de la sculpture et même à toute imitation du corps humain en y comprenant la graphique" (Littré).

THE MAJOR SENTIMENTS IN THE LIFE OF THÉOPHILE GAUTIER

Among the many traits which characterize an individual, there is none of greater importance than his interests. He has a certain initial equipment, he acts in a more or less typical way, and by this endowment and this behaviour he may be partially known. Certain forces, however, lie between endowment and behaviour: ambitions, ideals, drives to action. These are built up on the basis of original equipment, they are manifested in action, and by their specific organization each man may be differentiated from his fellows. The individual hierarchies of sentiments are distinctive. In one person the major sentiment will be, perhaps, a love for exploration in African jungles, in another attachment to a political party will serve as a guide in many ordinary, daily actions, in still a third there may be constant conflict between a personal ambition and a highly organized religious sentiment which inclines to a life of self-abnegation. Each individual will, all other things being equal, tend to bring his whole life into harmony with his particular organization of interests. Thus the definition of his sentiments, in so far as they may be abstracted from hindering or facilitating exterior circumstances and personal endowments (technical skill, opportunity for acquiring knowledge, physical and mental health and energy, etc.), is in large part the definition of the individual. The sentiments appear as determining factors in his general conduct, and his activities give evidence of their hierarchy. They have a similar determinative influence on his production if their possessor be in any sense creator, and this production, like other portions of his life, is in part characterized by them and without them cannot be fully understood. In any study of a creative imagination, then, the determination of the sentiments of the artist is of primary value for the distinguishing of his especial traits: for the comprehen-

sion of Théophile Gautier as a literary personality, the part of his major sentiments in his production must be indicated.

" . . . Les caractères que l'artiste choisit dans le modèle pour les mettre en relief sont ceux qui correspondent à ses passions, à ses aspirations ou à ses curiosités. Qu'il le veuille ou non, ce qui l'attache dans les objets, ce qui l'intéresse, c'est leur rapport à lui-même, les aspects qui le font vivre en quelque sorte davantage, par sympathie ou par contraste. . . . La moindre invention oblige l'artiste à *composer*. Pour un artiste, composer c'est établir, entre les sensations choisies, un rapport tel qu'il en résulte une harmonie totale appropriée le mieux possible à son tempérament et, par suite, conforme le plus possible à son idéal . . ." (1).

The temperament and the ideal of Théophile Gautier, thus, have their bearing on his artistic production; they, in turn, are made apparent in the organization of his sentiments and also in the types of sensations which he enjoyed or disliked. According to Sully-Prudhomme:

" . . . Un homme n'est pas un artiste si, chez lui, aucun sens n'est particulièrement délicat, si certaines couleurs, certaines lignes, certains sons ne l'affectent pas comme des caresses ou des blessures; si, pour lui, les impressions n'ont point de nuances; en un mot, s'il n'est sensuel à quelque degré.

" Nous usons du mot *sensuel* à dessein, pour bien marquer qu'un véritable artiste veut jouir des couleurs, des lignes, des notes pour elles-mêmes en tant que délectables aux sens; et alors même qu'il les emploie à exprimer les sentiments les plus sublimes, nous verrons qu'il ne les rend expressives qu'en exploitant la volupté physique qu'elles éveillent . . ." (2).

In this Théophile Gautier would agree, for to him the senses brought certain specific pleasures which lie at the foundation of his artistic production and are basic to the hierarchy of his sentiments. While some of these pleasure-reactions seem far removed from the æsthetic field, others have a direct bearing there. Perhaps none is without its significance for some phase of his creative imagination, for these characteristic elementary traits reappear, developed and extended, modified in their interactions, in the whole course of the author's critical and original writing.

Gautier's likes and dislikes in the matter of odours, temperature and tactile sensations may be easily formulated. For the first he expresses little fixed preference, unless it be his delight in the rose-laurels of Grenada; there are no definite odours which he always enjoys and which for him add greatly to the pleasure of any experience. So, too, there is none against which he seems

violently prejudiced. He is, to judge from his writings and from the records of his friends, relatively indifferent to sensations of smell although he notes their presence in various situations. The case is otherwise for temperature: from his childhood on he enjoys heat, and remarks upon its necessity for his comfort and pleasure. Paris seemed cold and desolate to him after his infancy in Tarbes; the poet of *Albertus* and the *Premières Poésies* congratulated himself on being able to remain warm and comfortable in his chimney-corner. In 1837 he discovered a new source of pleasure in the tropical conservatory of the Jardin des plantes:

"Quand je mis le pied dans le grand pavillon des plantes tropicales, j'éprouvai une espèce de vertige singulier. Je sortais d'un mois de mai parisien et j'entrais subitement, sans aucune transition, dans un été des régions torrides. Je me suis senti enveloppé tout d'un coup comme par le baiser d'une bouche tiède, d'une atmosphère chaude et humide, saturée de parfums âcrement sauvages, de parfums aussi violents que des poisons, de je ne sais quelles senteurs de forêts vierges et de jungle; rappelant Java, Sumatra, Batavia, les îles de la Sonde et tous ces climats voluptueusement mortels.—O délice pour un frileux tel que moi; il faisait là-dedans trente-trois degrés de chaleur!" (3)

So, in Russia twenty-five years later, the traveller is astonished to find that the still coldness of the country can be enjoyed even by him who, all through his life, had considered heat alone compatible with comfort (4). Cold and damp together were always disagreeable to him, and in the account of his trip to Constantinople he speaks of the depressing effect which an underground passage had upon him (5). On the other hand, there was a certain voluptuousness in fresh, cold water which delighted him (6), and while he bore with poor food in his journeyings, when the new scenes compensated for many discomforts, at his home he insisted upon well-prepared meals and was himself no mean cook; his *ragoût milanais* was famous among the dishes which he brought back to add to his pleasures. On the whole, indeed, comfort was a very real need to him, and he saw no virtue in asceticism.

"Qu'il gèle! et qu'à grand bruit, sans relâche, la grêle
De grains rebondissants fouette la vitre frêle!
Que la bise d'hiver se fatigue à gémir!
Qu'importe? n'ai-je pas un feu clair dans mon âtre,
Sur mes genoux un chat qui se joue et folâtre,
Un livre pour veiller, un fauteuil pour dormir?" (7)

The pleasures and discomforts of the senses were particularly apparent to Gautier, however, only where sound and sight were concerned, and it is not surprising to find that these "æsthetic senses" were especially keen in the artist. He once described the characteristic actions of Gavarni's *Enfants terribles*, and, of their many offenses, those against beauty were to him most heinous:

" . . . Avec eux, plus de rêverie, plus de travail, plus de conversation possible. Ils choisissent le moment où vous cherchez une rime à *oncle* pour exécuter la plus stridente fanfare de trompette en fer blanc; ils battent du tambour, juste quand vous alliez trouver la solution de votre problème; ils égratignent vos meubles et prennent, à écouter le bruit que font en tombant les porcelaines de la Chine ou du Japon, le même plaisir que les singes. . . . Si vous avez un portrait de femme auquel vous teniez beaucoup, ils n'ont rien de plus pressé que d'y dessiner des moustaches avec du cirage . . ." (8).

Sound, in general, brought Gautier more discomfort than enjoyment. It is hardly necessary to recall his dictum on *la Favorite* as modified to suit British taste and sung in English, when he agreed with the geometrist who believed that "la musique est le plus désagréable et le plus cher de tous les bruits" (9). Bergerat, indeed, takes issue with tradition in this matter, and maintains that Gautier's rebelliousness to sounds was only a legend:

" . . . Mon maître était sensible, docte même, en musique; il aimait entre toutes celles de Weber et le premier article qui ait été écrit sur *Tannhäuser*, en France, est de sa plume et de son encre . . ." (10).

This view is, to a certain extent, supported by Reyer, who had collaborated with Gautier in the preparation of many musical *feuilletons*:

"C'est que Gautier était bien loin d'avoir, comme on l'a prétendu et répété souvent, l'oreille fermée à toute mélodie. . . . Il l'aimait, au contraire, et faisait mieux que l'aimer: il l'écoutait avec intelligence, avec recueillement; et, s'il n'en pouvait discuter en homme compétent, il en parlait en poète et savait traduire dans la langue la plus imagée les émotions et les jouissances qu'il en avait reçues . . ." (11).

Reyer, the professional musician, here differs from Bergerat in the matter of Gautier's technical training in music, although he agrees that the author found a certain enjoyment there. Gautier himself speaks of just what this was:

"Voilà comme nous aimons la musique; chez nous, par hasard, en pantoufles et sans cravate, un matin qu'on n'y songeait pas, et qu'on se sentait remuer

"dans l'âme comme des colombes mal étouffées ses anciens instincts poétiques qui voudraient sortir et revoir la pure lumière du soleil; l'un se couche sur le tapis, l'autre se perche sur le bras d'un fauteuil, on se fait un échafaudage de coussins, l'on s'endort si l'on veut ou l'on fait des cabrioles comme un brochet en belle humeur. Parlez-nous de musique ainsi écoutée dans le demi jour et le recueillement, à l'ombre des grands rideaux et au milieu du silence de la chambre d'étude"(12).

There is little evidence here for pleasure in sound as such, and indeed from this and other accounts of Gautier's agreeable experiences of music, it is apparent that it was not the music itself, but rather the relaxation and the relief, the opportunity for revery which it gave, that the poet appreciated. He was indeed sensitive to sound, but the pleasure which he occasionally derived from it was extra-musical:

"... Ces chants, d'une bizarrerie mystérieuse, ont un pouvoir réel d'incantation; ils vous donnent le vertige et le délire, et vous jettent dans l'état d'âme le plus incompréhensible. En les entendant, vous sentez une mortelle envie de disparaître à jamais de la civilisation et d'aller courir les bois en compagnie d'une de ces sorcières au teint couleur de cigare, aux yeux de charbon allumé..."(13).

"Il est bien difficile, sinon impossible, de rendre par des paroles un effet musical; mais l'on peut du moins raconter le rêve qu'il fait naître. . . . Certaines mélodies vous sonnent à l'oreille comme un *Ranz des vaches* maladivement irrésistible, et vous avez envie de jeter là votre fusil, d'abandonner votre poste et de gagner à la nage l'autre rive où l'on n'obéit à aucune consigne, à aucune loi, à aucune morale autre que le caprice. Mille tableaux brillants et confus vous passent devant les yeux . . ."(14).

His associations with music were not necessarily pleasant, however (15), and other sounds were definitely disagreeable to him. Taine tells of his obsession with the phrase: "La Polka sera dansée par M. . . ."(16), and Gautier also recounts similar occurrences, where certain sets of words or musical notes haunted him almost to the point of hallucination, and far beyond the limits of enjoyment (17). The railroad was abominable to him on account of the noise inseparable from it (18). Thus the sensation of sound, while keenly noted by the author, did not, as a matter of fact, add greatly to his pleasures, even though it was sometimes possible for him to abstract himself, through music, in agreeable revery. As compared to sight, moreover, the pleasantest sound was of small importance to Gautier. He felt that

visual harmonies might well be substituted for it, and wrote, of "la blonde Malibran":

"Sa voix est claire, agréable et roucouillante; mais nous avouons entendre fort peu de choses à la musique. Ce qui chante le mieux pour nous dans madame Thillon, ce sont ses yeux, ses mains, sa taille, ses cheveux blonds; nous voyons courir sur tout cela des notes ailées et frémissantes qui sont de la meilleure harmonie"(19).

During his childhood, the author had been preoccupied with the visual and had delighted in various colours and forms. He speaks of an early interest in curved and straight lines (20), and, again, relates his desire to *see* the ocean:

"Voir la mer a été pour moi un désir presque maladif. Dès l'âge de cinq ou six ans, j'étais un des spectateurs les plus assidus du spectacle mécanique de M. Pierre, où l'on représentait des combats, des tempêtes, des naufrages et autres scènes analogues. Je connaissais le nom et la forme de tous les vaisseaux; j'aurais pu faire le catalogue qui se trouve dans l'ode de Victor Hugo sur la bataille de Navarin . . ." (21).

This interest in things seen is reflected throughout Gautier's literary production, and its close link to a sensory pleasure is evident from many of his descriptions. As a theorist, he recognized the necessity for this element in the true enjoyment of art (22), and as a dilettante he appreciated especially the painting which offered such pleasure to his eyes:

"Une toile nous a particulièrement frappé. Jamais plus éblouissant bouquet de couleurs ne s'est épanoui pour le plaisir des yeux. C'est une ardeur fraîche, une fraîcheur ardente, une harmonie enchanteresse, une musique de tons, une symphonie de palette qui procurent des sensations qui ne cause pas ordinairement la peinture. L'impression en est presque voluptueuse. Pourtant aucune gracieuse nudité féminine n'y déploie ses blancheurs et n'y fait à travers sa beauté un victorieux appel aux sens, c'est le charme même du ton qui agit"(23).

So, too, Regnault's whites brought him an especial pleasure:

". . . Pour les délicats, ce blanc trouvé par Henri Regnault est une volupté inconnue, une jouissance toute neuve. Un tel enthousiasme à l'endroit d'une valeur de blanc paraîtra sans doute puéril à ceux qui n'aiment dans la peinture que le but moral et les intentions littéraires. Mais nous autres dépravés, qui préférons Paul Véronèse à Hogarth, quoique le grand Vénitien n'ait jamais corrigé personne, nous en jouissons délicieusement. Aucun autre art que la peinture ne pourrait nous donner cette qualité de sensation"(24).

Gautier's pleasure in white was not limited to the tones of paintings, however, and he had at one time an obsession for white

animals—cats, Norwegian rats, “ jusqu’à notre poulailler était peuplé de poules exclusivement blanches ” (25). Time after time he expressed his pleasure in colour as such (26), and the dissonances which he most disliked were those of colour :

“ Les drapiers étalent des draps anglais aux couleurs criardes dont les lisières sont chamarrées de grosses lettres d’or et d’armoires en paillon de cuivre, pour flatter le goût oriental. On y reconnaît la perfection bête de la mécanique et la fausseté de ton naturelle de la Grande Bretagne. J’avoue que de pareilles dissonances me font grincer les dents. . . .

“ Quand je pense que je rencontrerai sans doute ces horribles étoffes découpées en vestes, en gilets et en caftans, dans une mosquée, dans une rue, dans un paysage, dont elles détruisent tout l’effet par leurs couleurs insociables, une secrète fureur bouillonne en moi . . . ” (27).

The only regret of the traveller is that he cannot see everything, that there comes a time when his eyes will take in nothing more and when he must wait and meditate upon the scenes which have given him such pleasure before he can respond with further pleasure to new stimuli (28). There is no doubt that, in so far as Gautier’s sensations were concerned, he was a man “ pour qui le monde visible existe ” (29).

Théophile Gautier, then, was keenly awake to certain sensory impressions; he was sensitive, also, to various emotional situations, and, in spite of the tradition of his *impassibility*, it is evident from the accounts of his life that indifference to emotional stimuli was not natural to him, but rather the result of a habit which he had been at pains to acquire. Yriarte points out this basis of emotional sensitiveness beneath a voluntary tranquillity, and other critics have noted the same double quality, in the author’s production as in his life :

“ Il y a donc deux existences dans son existence, deux œuvres dans son œuvre : l’un subtil, perspicace, modéré, dans lequel il joint les qualités du critique à celles de l’homme imaginaire ; l’autre excessif, énorme, sans frein par le côté création, touffu, plein d’ardeurs, de rêveries, de spontanéité, prodigieux par la variété, durable par la diversité et la précision des connaissances, qui s’y cachent sous la grâce et la perfection du style comme sous des fleurs. . . .

“ Ces deux œuvres . . . ont été conçues dans un milieu patriarcal, un isolement relatif, une tranquillité et un calme intérieurs qui ne se démentent point malgré les nuages qui les peuvent obscurcir, car cette placidité n’est point à la surface, elle a sa source dans la conscience.

“ Théophile Gautier est un sage. . . . Sous son indifférence apparente se cache une sensibilité exquise . . . ” (30).

While it may be granted that the poet had this general keen sensibility, it is yet possible to distinguish, among his primary emotions, a certain quantitative difference which is of no little importance for the understanding of the construction of Gautier's major sentiments.

From the evidence of biography and autobiography, memoirs and correspondence, it would seem that in Théophile Gautier the tender and protective emotions and the sexual feeling were strong (31). It is these primary emotions which are at the basis of friendship and love, and in Gautier they are made apparent in various ways. There is to be noted, in the first instance, his long devotion to Carlotta Grisi; this sentiment was manifested both in the life and in the literary production of the author, and it gives an indication of the strength of the primary emotions on which it was built up. The great body of correspondence with regard to Théophile Gautier's private affairs is not available to the public, but the content of certain letters to Carlotta Grisi, to which Bergerat referred in his essay on the author, became general knowledge at the time of the sale of his effects, and have been described in terms which leave no doubt as to the emotional nature of the man revealed by this correspondence:

"Pages touchantes, très simples, sans déclamations ni littérature, exquises de tact et de cœur. Ce n'est pas seulement l'amour qui s'y exprime, mais aussi la tendresse, le besoin d'aimer, toutes les émotions d'une âme délicate et bonne. On a souvent reproché à Gautier son insensibilité: en réalité, nul cœur ne fut plus affectueux ni plus dévoué. Cette sensibilité, qui d'ordinaire se voile et ne paraît pour ainsi dire que par allusions, se donne libre cours dans cette correspondance . . ." (32).

Gautier's devotion to his family has been written of frequently, and no one of his biographers was more convinced of it than his daughter Judith. The letters which his father addressed to him during his travels could have been written only to a loving son; his disquietude for the safety of his sisters in 1870 is notable. To his family he was always ready to sacrifice his own interests. Such is also the case with his friendships. Gautier had throughout his life a most humble admiration for Victor Hugo; the death of Gérard de Nerval, his comrade from the days of the Lycée, brought him great sorrow; during many years he rejoiced

in the companionship of Arsène Houssaye, Louis de Cormenin, and others. The author was blamed, indeed, for his excessive tenderness to young writers and artists to whom he gave favourable criticism in his *feuilletons*; he enjoyed greatly the affection, as well as the admiration, given to him by such disciples as Banville and Baudelaire. His attachment to animals, even to places, was noteworthy (33). On the whole, this conjunction of various specific sentiments of love, in regard to a number of objects, indicates a strong emotional basis of tenderness, of sexual and protective feelings.

Closely linked to these partially altruistic emotions and feelings stand those which have a more intimate connection with Gautier himself: feelings of helplessness and of isolation, positive and negative self-feeling. Here again the author shows the stratum of keen sensibility underlying his reputed impassiveness. Gautier enjoyed comfort and quiet in his home, but he disliked isolation intensely; the days of 1870, when he wandered about in a besieged Paris which his friends had abandoned, were dreadful to him; in 1835 he had spent all his time with Gérard and the other companions of the rue du Doyenné. The *Histoire du romantisme*, where he recounts the death of his fellow-artists, where he speaks as a solitary survivor from the days of *Hernani*, is full of his sorrow at the loss of his friends and of his own profound loneliness. The *dîners* Magny, where he could speak of his life as a Jeune-France to a younger generation which, nevertheless, was connected in thought and tradition with that former time, brought him a real consolation. In the same manner, he enjoyed a certain feeling of dependence on others. Gérard de Nerval in one way, the Princess Mathilde in another, gave him aid which he welcomed. He was easily and deeply distressed when any appeal of his was unanswered. A different set of activities, moreover, manifests another quite strong emotional tendency in the author—that toward feelings of superiority, of elation. During his early years he had a great pride of person; he considered himself beautiful, and he did everything possible to enhance the impression he might make. The famous “gilet rouge” has its bearing here on

the understanding of his character; his carefully-tended curls were a due object of admiration; he enjoyed driving about Paris, a regal figure behind two small Shetland ponies. No hours were held lost which had been spent in sitting for a portrait or a medalion, or even in posing before Nadar for one of his many photographs. The same type of personal interest is shown in his self-expression in literature, in his choice of his own personality (quite in the usual Romantic fashion) as prototype for d'Albert or Albertus. As Gérard wrote:

"Est-il plus modeste de se peindre dans un roman sous le nom de Lélios, d'Octave ou d'Arthur ou de trahir ses plus intimes émotions dans un volume de poésies? Qu'on nous pardonne ces élans de personnalité à nous qui vivons sous le regard de tous, et qui, glorieux ou perdus, ne pouvons plus atteindre au bénéfice de l'obscurité!" (34)

Gautier was not lacking in personal ambition, although its specific form underwent various transformations in the course of his life; he felt superiority keenly and was readily stimulated to elation.

Still another strong tendency to emotion in the life of the author is that to fear. He manifested this positively in his desire to escape certain things, negatively in certain inhibitions to action, and its influence in the upbuilding of his major sentiments is of importance. In daily events, it was shown particularly in Gautier's superstitions and in his obsession with death. The memoirs of Judith Gautier and of Bergerat, of Feydeau and other friends, are full of references to the master's superstitions, which took most varied forms and which in many instances noticeably modified his actions. In his correspondence there are several letters which refer to his folly in braving the bad omens which accompanied his setting sail for Egypt; this temerity was the cause of the fracture of his arm; he should, in accordance with his usual practice, have refrained from the ill-augured action, for, by disregarding his fear of the warning, he only added discomfort and danger to the frustration of his desires: in one way or another, he was effectively prevented from seeing Egypt. Fear, again, was manifested in Gautier's constant preoccupation with death. A variety of causes entered into his feelings here, but the element of fear was always present, and the thought of an

inevitable end was an obsession with him from the time of the *Comédie de la Mort* to the date of his last writings (35).

In marked contrast to the strength of these emotions stands the weakness of others. Gautier was in general moved only with difficulty to anger and disgust. Indeed, there is very little evidence of angry responses to the successive situations of his life, either in passionate or in cold and vengeful form (36). It is true that there are, in the writings of his early years, certain attacks on critics and journalists, on utilitarianism in literature, etc., which seem to denote a deep feeling on the part of the author. It is a question, however, as to whether the cause of this reaction is not a profound desire to support certain positive doctrines, rather than a true dislike of the various abuses as such, whether tender and protective feelings do not play a larger part in the emotional response than does anger. In the *Collier des jours*, and again in the *Second rang du collier*, Judith Gautier writes of her father's dislike for all acrimonious discussion and of his habit of giving evasive answers instead of the direct reply which would express his displeasure (37); he showed no anger. When Mohsin wished to marry her, Gautier was irritated by his attentions to Judith, and "faillit se fâcher tout à fait. Cependant, avant le départ pour la Perse, il accueillit aimablement la visite d'adieu . . ." (38). He received with constant courtesy the many importunate callers who came to claim aid or protection from him, and the letters by which he answered many requests for favours show no trace of anger at their frequency and magnitude (39). Gautier's correspondence shows disappointment quite frequently—he suffers keenly at a revelation of misplaced interest or trust—but he is seldom angry with those who put obstacles in his path. Here again tender emotion, rather than anger, seems at the foundation of his reactions. The case is similar for disgust. The author rarely expresses a feeling of repulsion, and, indeed, his tolerance is marked. He writes occasionally of an aversion to certain colour-combinations, of distress at the English sulphur-yellow, etc., but even here it is perhaps not a true disgust at the sight which he expresses, but rather his response to certain

unpleasant visual stimuli. The two basic emotions of anger and disgust, with their control of forceful action, seem largely absent from Gautier's disposition.

Finally, in a review of Théophile Gautier's primary emotional tendencies, curiosity and creativeness must be considered. In regard to the latter, it is evident from the relatively meager information at hand as to the author's early childhood that he had a rather strong instinct for construction. There are accounts of his interest in theatre-building, in the making and management of marionettes; he tells of his attempts to make boats and to reconstruct for himself the various pieces of rigging of which the very names had fascinated him (40). Most indicative of all, his two choices of vocation were constructive professions—he was to be either painter or writer. It is necessary, in the case of such a person, to presume a certain strength in the impulse to creation. On the other hand, this emotional tendency, in whatever strength present, is so closely bound up with actual production that it is difficult, and perhaps fruitless, to attempt to follow its manifestations in the life of Gautier before his work and the sentiments determining it are considered. It is enough for the present to have noted that the author's childhood presents evidence for a moderately keen emotional response of this particular kind.

The emotion of curiosity is in a somewhat different category. It, like that of productivity, has great bearing on Gautier's literary composition, but unlike this other feeling, it is manifested on various occasions which do not bear directly on his work, and in these instances it is seen as one of his strong impulses. Early in his life, Gautier read indiscriminately and voraciously; he was always interested in word-games, in the reading of the dictionary, in more or less unorganized research. He enjoyed traveling: the sight of the new, as well as of the beautiful, had certain attractions; various new sensations experienced under the influence of opium or of haschich interested him. It is true that the author showed little desire of learning for its own sake, and that he could be absorbed principally in investigations which favoured other interests. Nevertheless, curiosity is characteristic of his

disposition, and to its presence there certain traits of his creative imagination are due.

"J'admire comment un homme dont l'esprit est un immense kaléidoscope peut encore s'intéresser à des œuvres relativement inférieures, garder une inépuisable curiosité, sans jamais laisser s'émousser son désir. Le tableau, la statue, l'émail, le pli, la couleur, le son le fascinent, et il y a une espèce de curiosité enfantine, un appétit qui se trahit dans le geste involontaire de cette main qui se tend vers vous pour saisir le livre que vous laissez à son approche . . ." (41).

Théophile Gautier's primary emotions, their appearance as constituents of various minor sentiments, their relative force, have been indicated. There remains for consideration the part which they play in the formation of his major sentiments. To determine just what are these main tendencies to action in the author's life, and what are their inter-relations and hierarchy, is to make plain a part of his individual creative imagination. In the study of his emotions, Gautier's occasional sentiments of love for certain individuals, of pride in personal appearance, of respect for various beliefs, have been touched upon. These, while indicative of the man, are but a small part of his organization: the chief characteristic groups of emotional tendencies organized about certain objects may be designated as his sentiment of self-regard, his philosophical sentiment, and his æsthetic sentiment. These, in turn, are formed from various sentiments of less magnitude and, into all, the author's emotional tendencies enter in different proportions.

The sentiment of self-regard in the organization of which self-feeling, curiosity, sexual and tender emotions, and the feeling of creativeness form the main constituents, which is characterized, moreover, by a noticeable absence of anger, has four principal manifestations with bearing on Gautier's literary production: a desire for protection, a desire for glory and for originality, a desire for creation, and a desire for self-perpetuation. These last three expressions, although closely linked, are possible of differentiation. In general they favour his work, while the first, on the contrary, has a negative influence upon it which is not without its importance. In so far as Gautier's desire for protection has an effect on the organization of his life and work, it is evident especially in

his family relationships. His sisters, Ernesta Grisi, his children, are a part of him, are in some sense his possessions; that which hurts them hurts him: their loss, their trouble, is also his; to protect himself he must see that they are protected and cared for. All through his life this preoccupation recurs. It is at the basis of his many journalistic activities: he must in some way be able to feed and clothe his dependents; any luxuries he can give them are in a large measure self-enhancements. He is acting in accordance with his sentiment of self-regard when he works for their good or pleasure.

The desire for glory is, indeed, of minor importance when set beside this fundamental manifestation of the sentiment. Its presence, nevertheless, can be distinguished among Gautier's characteristics. In his early poetry he meditates upon glory: he wishes it, and yet he doubts whether it be really worth working for; it is fleeting at best, and it may be that its desirability is simply a tradition among men. His Romantic comrades, like all artists, appreciate it in a certain measure. With their aristocratic tendencies, however, they scorn it in so far as it is based on popular opinion, and to Gautier also it is then no longer true self-enhancement. He revolts in the *Jeunes-France* against the notoriety which the extravagances of the school bring upon it. However, he sometimes envies the popular hero who receives the applause and approbation of his generation. Of Romero, the *toreador*, he writes:

"Alors, il s'éleva des *tendidos*, des galeries, des balcons, des entablements, des toits, un hourra d'acclamation, immense, universel, prodigieux: une seule voix jaillissant de trente mille poitrines! Quel torrent de volupté doit inonder le cœur d'un homme qui se sent applaudir ainsi! . . .

"Quelle sensation puissante devait étreindre en ce moment l'âme du héros, objet du tant d'enthousiasme! Ah! de tels applaudissements ne seraient pas payés trop cher au prix de vingt existences . . ."(42).

To this desire for glory Gautier's desire for originality is closely connected. The young author, supporter of *Hernani* in his red waistcoat, member of the circle of the rue du Doyenné, whose delight was to terrify the *bourgeois*, who was a propagandist of the *frénétique* and the *macabre* in much of his early writing, did not scorn to satisfy his self-regarding sentiment by acquiring a

reputation for eccentricity and bizarre conduct. This expression, however, was not a lasting one. In the Paris of 1840, after reaching the age of thirty and having accepted certain personal responsibilities, Gautier found that this particular means of self-indulgence was on the whole of adverse effect; he had, for his own well-being, to earn a living, and in order that he might do this as a *feuilletoniste* of the day, certain eccentricities had necessarily to be abandoned. Originality in combination with production was of more importance to him, but even here the quality, as such, was of little value when compared to other requirements of artistic work. One of the author's biographers writes that "dans la vie privée comme en littérature, Théophile Gautier était moins friand d'originalité qu'ennemi-né du vulgaire et du commun" (43), and he himself, in his earliest critical work as in his latest, felt that originality's contribution to art was of secondary importance:

" . . . L'originalité n'est que la note personnelle ajoutée au fonds commun préparé par les contemporains ou les prédécesseurs immédiats. . . .

" . . . Dans l'art comme dans la réalité, on est toujours fils de quelqu'un, même quand le père est renié par l'enfant . . ." (44).

It is difficult, given Gautier's strong self-feeling, to understand why *original creation* was not among the most profound of his desires. He did wish to create—his choice of profession alone is sufficient indication of this—but what he called his creation was frequently a work of construction in which he voluntarily neglected originality. The explanation of this attitude can become quite clear only with the knowledge of Gautier as a whole, of the exigencies of his æsthetic sentiment, his technical gifts, and his means for economy of effort. In a certain measure, however, it was based on his emotions. Gautier desired to do creative work; by it his self-esteem would be heightened; his tendency toward construction inclined him to it. He mourns Jules de Goncourt, "mort de son métier, comme nous mourrons tous: de la perpétuelle tension de l'esprit, de l'effort sans repos, de la lutte avec la difficulté créée à plaisir, de la fatigue de rouler ce bloc de la phrase, plus pesant que celui de Sisyphe" (45). This profession he had chosen, and at least some of its difficulties

were admittedly a pleasure to him. When, however, this inclination to creation came into conflict with Gautier's need for earning a living, its strength was not sufficient to ensure its victory over his desire for protection; journalistic work, instead of creative writing, prose instead of poetry, were frequently the result (46). The force of anger was absent in Gautier; he was not impelled to fight against adverse conditions. On the contrary, fear was strong in him,—a fear which worked through the tender emotions as consideration for others and was organized as a part of his self-regarding sentiment by the connection of these others with himself. His curiosity, of moderate strength, but not organized into a sentiment for research, rather favoured non-original production; omnivorous reading, a number of details rediscovered and assembled anew, will make for entertaining journalism and will not necessarily facilitate creative writing. The impulse to creation, with its specific and intimate addition to self-esteem, is not enough always to combat successfully other methods of personal enhancement. Thus, taken on its emotional basis alone, creation for its own sake cannot be expected to appear as the strongest incentive or determinant in the work of Théophile Gautier.

A much more vital form of the author's self-regarding sentiment existed in his desire for permanence. The perpetuation of an individual is indeed one of his best means for acquiring value; the desire for longevity and for immortality are constant manifestations of his interest in himself. Gautier expressed his agreement in this general desire on many occasions. He pitied the actor whose fame was only of a day, whose reputation did not survive popular applause; he envied the great of former centuries, who still lived through their works in his own age. He was moved by anything of the past which survived its time. So he looked with awe on the knights of the Kremlin:

" Ces chevaliers ont fort grande mine; ils jouent la vie à s'y méprendre; on pourrait croire qu'un cœur bat sous leurs cottes de mailles. Ces armures du moyen âge ainsi dressées nous causent toujours une espèce de frisson involontaire. Elles conservent si fidèlement la forme extérieure de l'homme à jamais disparu!" (47)

It startled him to think that the most ephemeral objects might, after all, be the most lasting, and when he came upon perfectly-preserved flowers pressed against the body of a mummy, the discovery made him pensive.

"Qui avait mis là ces pauvres fleurs comme un adieu suprême au moment où le corps regretté allait disparaître sous le premier enroulement de bandelettes. Des fleurs de quatre mille ans,—cette fragilité et cette éternité—cela fait une impression singulière" (48).

The man who received popular glory was destined to disappear; the work of original creation, however, may last. If the individual can achieve something characteristic of himself and yet something lasting, he will not perish utterly. Gautier received thus from his desire for permanence a stimulus to production quite extraneous to the pleasure inherent in the activity.

"Sourd comme saint Antoine à la tentation,
J'ai poursuivi mon œuvre avec religion,
L'œuvre de mon amour, qui, mort, me fera vivre,
Et ma journée ajoute un feuillet à mon livre" (49).

There is a great incentive to creation in this phase of Gautier's sentiment of self-regard, and the form of creation which is most nearly permanent will be found to be of greatest interest to him.

The term philosophical sentiment may be used to designate Gautier's general attitude toward the non-self, his evaluation of existence. It is built up largely from his emotional tendencies to fear, self-feeling and tenderness, as responses to the situations which he constantly meets. It is influenced also by a lack of organization of his curiosity. The sentiment is characterized by a certain respect for various objects on the one hand, and by a certain contempt of all things on the other. Gautier is at the same time reverent and nihilistic; he grants to all things outside himself a certain worth, and gives them some admiration; he denies them in general any great worth, and cultivates an impassive attitude toward them. The combination of these contradictory attitudes is important for the understanding of certain phases of Gautier's creative imagination; and its existence can be comprehended in a man with his emotional tendencies.

Reverence, a product of his fear and admiration, is felt by

Gautier in regard to various objects,—for everything, indeed, which has extraordinary or superhuman qualities of activity and power. “C’est une si douce chose d’admirer” (50), and fear is so frequent a reaction, that the combination of these two emotions becomes a constant response to many situations in which the author finds himself. He feels reverence for all things which have, in fact or in thought, affected the lives of men by their unusual influence; he feels it likewise for any mysterious and unexplained force which may come to bear upon him and his surroundings. Great men and great ideas command his awe; anything possibly supernatural awakes in him a superstitious dread. Gautier loves animals, but his interest in them is more than an affectionate one and is tinged by the curiosity and fear which he feels in their presence just because they are incomprehensible:

“Les animaux ont des instincts d’une mystérieuse profondeur; ils voient ce qui souvent échappe à l’œil distrait de l’homme, et on dirait que plusieurs d’entre eux possèdent le sentiment du surnaturel”(51).

The author is preoccupied with animals from a philosophical point of view, for they are characterized by “un mystère incompréhensible que leur silence permet d’interpréter de mille façons.” He does not agree with the hypotheses of Descartes and of the Père Bougeant in regard to their nature: “toujours est-il que cette création muette, vivant autour de nous et soumise à des lois fatales, a quelque chose qui préoccupe l’imagination”(52). A cause for this interest may be the relative place of animals in the scale of creation:

“Ils voudraient entrer en communication avec nous et nous demander de compléter leur instinct. L’idée d’une existence supérieure les agite vaguement, et ils ont le désir d’y atteindre. Nous leur produisons le même effet que des dieux nous produiraient, s’il en descendait sur la terre”(53).

Animals, indeed, are part of a whole universe which commands awe, and Gautier lived in a time when, according to his own analysis, a vague pantheism was becoming more and more prevalent among artists. “Tout prend de l’importance, rien n’est à dédaigner; la plante a son âme comme la bête, et Dieu se joue partout à travers la nature”(54). The author felt this rever-

ence for all forms of life, just as he felt respect for every conception of God, of a superhuman force in the world, which had had influence on the lives of men :

" Ces symboles d'un sens si profond (les dieux grecs), revêtus par la plastique grecque de ces admirables formes qu'aucun art n'a pu encore surpasser, n'ont, d'ailleurs, jamais pu être complètement abolis; ils tiennent leur place dans nos mœurs, dans notre poésie, dans notre peinture et dans notre statuaire; toutes les galanteries adressées aux femmes sont tirées de ce fonds inépuisable, et le romantisme, qui a produit de si beaux et de si glorieux résultats, n'a pu trouver une nouvelle formule de madrigale; il nous semble donc assez hasardeux de parler légèrement de Jupiter, qui doit vivre encore dans quelque recoin d'Olympe oublié; car des millions d'hommes qui se croyaient fort sensés, et qui l'étaient assurément sous tous les autres rapports, ont cru fermement à son immortalité et à celle des autres dieux. . . .

" Toutes les formes de religion, soit vivantes, soit tombées en désuétude, sont respectables, car elles ont pour principe la conscience de la faiblesse humaine, le désir d'un appui céleste et le besoin d'expliquer par une ou plusieurs des puissances suprêmes le merveilleux phénomène de la création; sentiments sublimes qui distinguent avant toute chose l'homme de la brute, et nous trouvons que les religions en vigueur ne sont pas assez respectueuses envers les religions devenues simplement des mythologies "(55).

When he is present at a spectacle which ridicules the ancient gods, Gautier is made unhappy by it :

" Pendant tout ce prologue, où les anciennes divinités sont raillées fort lestement, et, moins l'indécence, un peu à la manière de la *Guerre des Dieux* de Parny, nous éprouvions une espèce de malaise; car, en général, nous n'aimons pas à voir traiter irrévérencieusement quelque mythologie que ce soit "(56).

Philosophically as well as artistically he approves Chenavard's project for the decoration of the Panthéon :

" Jéhovah, Brahman, Jupiter, Allah, qu'importe le nom, c'est toujours l'infini, l'éternel, l'incompréhensible, le jour sans ombre, la sagesse sans erreur, le torrent de la vie, le fluide impaticulaire qui traverse les univers compactes, qui se meut dans nous et dans lequel nous nous mouvons, le suprême amour, la suprême intelligence et la suprême justice "(57).

Gautier's reverence for the powerful and the supernatural is extended even to the manifestations of chance. His father could recognize his writing by a phrase which expressed such an attitude :

" Nous avons quatre lettres de la Croix de Berny qu'Ernesta nous a envoyée. La 3^e signée Edgard de Meilhan nous a paru la tienne, 'le hasard c'est peut-être le pseudonyme de Dieu quand il ne veut pas signer,' quel autre que toi a ces idées-là? "(58)

That which arrived unexplained,—the disaster *following upon* a certain event, with no evident causal connection—was ascribed to what preceded it, and from this primitive logic the author continued his reasoning to the point of seeing in the recurrence of the first event an omen for the reappearance of the succeeding disaster. He created superstitions for himself and he had a profound and fearful interest in any mysterious manifestation. He was aware of this predilection at the beginning and at the end of his life, for in 1871, when he was exploring the new opera-house, he wrote :

“C'est pour nous un vif plaisir, que de nous promener dans un édifice en ruines ou en construction—ce qui, d'ailleurs, se ressemble beaucoup. Enfant, nous trouvions un charme inexprimable de curiosité et de terreur à suivre les héroïnes d'Anne Radcliffe dans leur excursions nocturnes à travers le dédale de couloirs, de corridors, de passages secrets et de souterrains du château des Pyrénées et autres manoirs gothiques.

“Homme, notre goût n'a pas changé, et nous ne manquons pas une occasion de le satisfaire”(59).

In the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci, the critic is interested in the air of mystery which time has lent to his use of black, with its “harmonie violâtre, cette tonalité abstraite qui est comme le coloris de l'idéal”(60), and Gautier often expresses the especial interest which night-scenes hold for him :

“Il y a souvent une poésie, que détruit parfois la grande clarté, dans ces masses noires qu'ébauche un rayon perdu, un vague reflet du ciel nocturne, et les villes entrevues ainsi prennent des apparences bizarres, grandioses et fantastiques comme ces villes imaginaires que l'âme parcourt pendant le rêve”(61).

The mysterious was frequently less agreeable to Gautier, for the great body of superstitions in which he believed tended to complicate unpleasantly his existence. Maxime DuCamp writes of the contemporary preoccupation with the supernatural :

“Chacun se souvient de cette folie qui faisait tourner les tables et les têtes. . . . Beaucoup de lyrisme, peu de raisonnement, le besoin du merveilleux et une forte dose de crédulité suffisent pour avoir la foi. Quelques esprits d'élite furent troublés. Louis de Cormenin entre autres. . . . Théophile Gautier, qui avait de la tendance au surnaturel, n'était pas très rassuré, surtout après avoir lu le livre du Marquis de Mirville. Flaubert levait les épaules. . . .”(62).

Gautier's daughter, as well as his other biographers, gives a description of the numerous superstitions which entered into the life of the author; she speaks of his attitude toward the evil eye, the number 13, human magnetism, etc., and gives as an explanation of it the fact that her father believed "qu'il faut tenir compte des impressions qui agissent sur le moral et, par contre-coup, dépriment ou exaltent la force de l'homme" (63). According to the writer himself, concrete facts and personalities were hard to understand. "En revanche . . ., je comprends parfaitement l'inintelligible: les données les plus extravagantes me semblent fort naturelles, et j'y entre avec une facilité singulière. Je trouve aisément la suite du cauchemar le plus capricieux" (64). As Bergerat wrote:

"Ce merveilleux peintre et fixateur des apparences qui se définissait lui-même: 'un homme pour qui les réalités sensibles existent en elles-mêmes', était loin d'y borner ses recherches. Son œuvre est pleine de la hantise des effets sans causes qui sont les problèmes du surnaturel scientifique, après avoir été ceux du panthéisme . . ." (65).

Gautier, who feared death above all things, saw in many daily occurrences warnings of events to come and was inspired with awe for these phenomena. Everything which had power over human affairs, past or present, was a potential cause of fear as well as an object for admiration, and from the reverence with which he regarded it, one side of Gautier's philosophical sentiment was developed.

The second, negative side of this attitude toward the extra-personal: the denial of worth, was of great importance in the life of the author, and has no less profound bearing on his literary work. Gautier's nihilism is pointed out and examined at length by Brunet, and the critic notes its consequences for the writer's existence, for the choice of activity in closest accord with his evaluation of life, and for the literary result which grows from it in connection with his other preoccupations.

" . . . Gautier tourne autour de cette pensée: tout est indifférent. Il est indifférent d'agir bien ou d'agir mal, d'agir intensément ou de ne pas agir du tout. . . .

"Souvent le *nihilisme* est la source d'une sorte de *fatalisme*. . . .

"Mais . . . on ne vit pas avec la pensée du Néant de tout, on vit en se masquant cette pensée. . . .

"Gautier a trouvé le baume pour toutes douleurs: la consolation *par la contemplation de l'apparence*. Apparence du néant qui passe parmi d'autres apparences du Néant, l'homme peut retrouver une sorte d'absolu en se refusant à voir plus loin que l'apparence, en se donnant corps et âme à elle. Et c'est toute une éthique qui naît de là. . . . L'art du bonheur consisterait à se tenir à la surface, à ne vouloir rien chercher sous les formes qui passent.

"A son tour, c'est toute l'esthétique de Gautier qui se met en vive lumière. . . ." (66).

Eighty-five years earlier another of Gautier's critics indicated this fundamental attitude which was reflected in his work, and it is interesting to observe this unanimity of judgment:

"Tel qu'il est, ce poème (*la Comédie de la Mort*) renferme la pensée qui préside à toutes les pièces du livre. La vie est dans la mort, la mort est dans la vie; tout est faux et menteur, toute apparence nous trompe. . . .

"Cependant, cette prétention à l'absence de tout système, n'est pas aussi modeste qu'on pourrait le croire au premier abord. Car il faut observer qu'ici, il ne s'agit plus du doute, mais bien de la négation la plus absolue. . . . Lorsqu'on va jusqu'à la négation, ce ne peut être qu'après avoir tout remué, soulevé toutes les questions, fait une triste expérience de toutes les passions.

"Heureusement, M. Théophile Gautier . . . laisse son imagination jouer au milieu des belles formes extérieures de la nature, sans trop pousser plus loin ces fatales recherches. . . .

"Pourtant au milieu même de cette admiration, on voit qu'il redoute que tout ne disparaisse comme une ombre. Aussi ne demande-t-il autre chose que le repos; aussi a-t-il horreur de ce qui peut troubler ses vives sensations. . . .

"De cette crainte de tout approfondir, il résulte qu'il ne se trouve place dans ses vers pour aucune passion profondément sentie, que l'image y est toujours au lieu de l'objet réel. . . ." (67).

The author himself expresses his philosophical attitude of pessimism both directly and indirectly. In *Une Larme du diable*, he speaks of the annoyance which one receives from one's self, that "terrible fâcheux, un visiteur bien indiscret et un importun d'autant plus insupportable qu'il n'y a pas moyen de le mettre à la porte" (68). Even the comic is based on tragedy of one kind or another; there is nothing which does not contain some element of sadness:

"Une observation générale que l'on peut faire sur les comiques de grande portée, c'est qu'il y a toujours quelque chose de triste au fond de leurs ouvrages. Il suffit d'une blessure au cœur ou à l'esprit pour qu'un écrivain, en reproduisant ses impressions, fasse répandre des larmes; mais tout le dédain et le mépris pour l'humanité des auteurs comiques dont les écrits doivent rester ont été achetés par bien des déceptions et bien des douleurs. Il y a quelque chose d'âcre sous certains rires qui fait plus de mal cent fois que les douleurs cadencées de l'élégie" (69).

In certain situations of his personal life, Gautier found additional cause for his pessimism. He writes to Mademoiselle Alice Ozi:

" . . . Je ne t'aime pas moins qu'autrefois, mais tu sais qu'en ce monde tout est arrangé pour que les cœurs qui se conviennent soient toujours séparés par une raison ou par une autre. Si nous nous étions désagréables, hostiles, et malsains, le hasard moqueur saurait bien nous faire trouver ensemble dix fois par jour . . ." (70).

The author's whole bitterness against existence and its cause is expressed in his review of Lamennais's *Livre du peuple*:

"La misère, le travail, la maladie, les angoisses de l'esprit et de la chair, la mort, cette pâle et terrible consolatrice, nous viennent désagréablement de Dieu, et non point des hommes comme le prétend M. de Lamennais. . . . Dieu n'a pu revenir sur sa parole. . . .

"Cette nécessité providentielle réduit à néant toutes les doctrines de perfectibilité. . . . Quand le rampe gigantesque qui tourne au flanc de la tour enfonce dans les nuages ses gerbes de spirales bleuâtres, au moment où il semble qu'on va cueillir les étoiles avec les mains et entrer de plain-pied dans les secrets de Dieu, la confusion vient, ses travailleurs ne se comprennent plus. . . . L'expérience des siècles ne sert à rien" (71).

The times in which Théophile Gautier lived were full of similar expressions of pessimism and denial of all values in existence (72). He was surrounded by Romantic disillusionment and was no doubt influenced by it. Nevertheless, the fundamental cause of his nihilism seems to lie in his personal emotional make-up. He was fearful by nature, and the object which he most feared was death. This he saw as the inevitable end to all that was valuable in life. The most vivid things in existence: the sensations, the emotions of man, his reactions on his age, etc.—were the most transitory; a flower might outlast every record of the ruler whose tomb it decorated; a foot-step in the sand of a temple could survive all other traces of its worshippers. Gautier, moreover, was curious in a childlike manner only: he could be entertained readily by the discovery of a new fact, but he seemed unable to organize the tendency to curiosity about any one object. He could not substitute for the hope of a long existence, unmarred by death and the passing of glory, an interest in the present for its own sake and a spirit of research which might absorb him entirely in an intellectual activity that offered present compensations for the loss of the future. Again, the

predominance of fear in his disposition brought with it a characteristic form of response to the situations which aroused this emotion: danger may incite to flight, or it may stun into immobility. Gautier seeks to escape from peril, he sinks into despairing quiescence when it overwhelms him. The case is complicated, however, by the fact that he is not content to appear cowardly, to admit his fear and frankly to yield to it. He must endeavour in some way to justify his action and his attitude, if he is not to suffer from the check to his tendency toward self-regard. Perhaps the most effective means to keep his self-respect, while he indulges in the actions prompted by his fear, is to deny the value of that which excited this fear. If nothing is worth while, according to one's stated evaluations, then one cannot be blamed (even by one's self) for deciding to avoid contact with the worthless object. It will not seem to be *fear* which initiates withdrawal, which commands quiescence; rather, the avoidance of the meritless, an impassibility in the face of purely apparent danger, will serve to indicate a superior nature which scorns the reactions of ordinary life. Gautier's nihilism will satisfy his tendencies both to fear and to self-esteem.

This nihilism, established on the basis of the author's disposition (and with possible encouragement from his environment), has certain definite connections with the conduct of his life and work. It inclines him, in the first instance, to an immobility of mind and body. Gautier's love of comfort, his Romantic praise of the fireside in 1830 and in later echoes, are noticeable parts of his individuality (73). The home is a comparatively safe place; one can be quiet there without reproach, for, as it is a relatively unimportant part of the universe, it does not pretend to exact an active and positive response to many stimuli. When he was travelling, Gautier enjoyed greatly the sight of the desert, for it, too, was solitary and unexacting.

"Les civilisations extrêmes pèsent sur l'individualisme et vous ôtent en quelque sorte la possession de vous-même en retour des avantages généraux qu'elles vous procurent; aussi ai-je entendu dire à beaucoup de voyageurs qu'il n'y avait pas de sensation plus délicieuse que de galoper tout seul dans le désert, au soleil levant. . . .; personne ne veille sur vous, mais aussi personne ne vous entrave; la liberté règne dans le silence et la solitude, et il n'y a que

"Dieu au-dessus de vous. J'ai éprouvé moi-même quelque chose d'analogue en traversant certaines parties désertes de l'Espagne et de l'Algérie" (74).

Tranquillity becomes one of the author's greatest desires. So he takes refuge in Switzerland, in the comfort offered him by Carlotta Grisi at her villa in Saint-Jean, and he writes with envy, in the expeditions which he makes from there, of the peaceful regions which he comes upon and which awake him to disagreeable memory of Parisian activity. He is fascinated by the solitude and silence of the valley of Hérival:

"Oh! quelle douce vie on mènerait au sein de cette calme retraite! On est là si joyeux, si libre, si dégagé du monde, si loin de tout souci! Il semble que le malheur ne nous trouverait jamais dans cet asile obscur et paisible"(75).

The surroundings of Saint-Dié have a similar charm, an appearance "qui retient, attache et séduit par sa poésie agreste, son calme profond et sa solitude sans sauvagerie" (76). Liberty and tranquillity form the attraction of an exploration of the Meuse:

"Il arrive si rarement, dans la vie civilisée, d'être pendant quelques jours absolument maître de soi, entre le ciel et l'eau, baigné par la brise, séparé de tout importun, délivré de toute servitude, même de costume, que chacun de nous savourait délicieusement ce bonheur"(77).

Peacefulness, however, must be attained in mind as well as in body, and spiritual or mental tranquillity can be attained only through the stifling or the controlling of the emotions. Gautier must take refuge in an inner calm, acquired by an assumption of impassibility and an actual withdrawal, in so far as possible, from all human relationships which may stir him to excitement and so to danger. It is particularly through human intercourse, through the social organization, that the individual may suffer: the more involved he becomes in emotional ties, the more frequent and the more profound will be his disappointments and his losses. Gautier, affectionate and fearful, could not face such dangers with equanimity. He preferred to withdraw as much as possible from the situations which offered this peril and to immobilize himself, to assume a mask of impassibility which might help to stifle his own feelings and which would certainly lead to a withdrawal on the part of others when they found him apparently unresponsive. Gradually, throughout his life, he drew back from

the closest friendly connections which he had had, he hesitated to form new relationships, he confined his affections in so far as possible to the least exacting objects: his family and his animals. In so far as possible he made himself independent of society, for it was able to cause him the greatest pain as well as to offer him certain keen pleasures. Its pleasures could not compensate for the suffering, or for the fear of possible suffering, inherent in these relationships which, of their very nature, were impermanent. Gautier says, in speaking of Goethe, that he can understand better than anyone the master's development from a Romantic attitude of emotional expression, to an Olympian impassiveness (78). Gautier's own critics point to his emotional capabilities and note the artificial quality of *his* impassiveness. Brunet speaks of his *renunciation* of self-expression (79). Poulain calls attention to his voluntary emotional control, in the line of "Thébaïde": "Ne plus penser, ne plus aimer, ne plus haïr," and comments on it thus:

" . . . D'une nature beaucoup plus robuste que Musset, l'auteur d'*Albertus* avait maintes fois ironisé ses passions; il s'en était rendu maître de bonne heure, il les avait domptées. Cependant lui aussi, avait connu la souffrance—son impassibilité n'est que légendaire . . ." (80).

Champfleury, his contemporary, like these later critics, points to the fund of emotion which Gautier was inclined to deny in his life and work on account of his distrust of the value of existence and on account of his fear of suffering in a cause that was worthless because transitory:

"A diverses reprises la critique reprocha au poète cette indifférence pour tout sentiment humain.' 'Le poète ne doit pas geindre en public', me disait Théophile, plus sensible à ces attaques qu'il n'en faisait montre.

"Le masque flegmatique, que l'homme crut utile de porter dans la vie, finit par se coller à son visage: il avait jeté tant de pierres sur ses sentiments qu'ils restèrent murés et incapables de reparaître" (81).

Finally, the nihilism of Théophile Gautier led him to an idea, and so to a doctrine, of art which was based upon the intrinsic worthlessness of all real things, and on the comparative value of the apparent. Brunet analyzes this development at some length in its application to art. It is perhaps more far-reaching, in that it applies to Gautier's general conduct—to the organization of his

sentiments—and only secondarily to his production, but this application alone is sufficient to indicate its part in his individuality:

" . . . Parallèlement à ce 'bonheur de surface' qui s'atteste comme le seul possible pour lui, le poète conçoit un art de surface, un art qui se détourne volontairement des plongées dans la réalité profonde pour se contenter de fixer les apparences du monde. La poésie de Gautier est généralement liée à l'ensemble de ses tendances philosophiques. *Elle est une poésie d'oubli dans le charme de l'apparence.* De la lumière, de l'ordre, des reflets, des formes harmonieuses et des fantômes qui passent, voilà tout ce que cherche à atteindre le plus souvent la poésie de Gautier. . . .

" . . . Il faut toujours en revenir chez Gautier à cette *dissociation de la réalité profonde et de l'apparence*, à cette volonté de faire de l'apparence un absolu, à ce désir de ne vouloir connaître et poursuivre qu'elle seul. . . .

" Nous nous expliquons aisément le désir de l'absolue perfection formelle que Gautier demande à l'œuvre d'art. Celui qui ayant renoncé délibérément à toute vaine poursuite des réalités profondes pour mettre le tout de sa vie dans la contemplation et la réalisation de belles apparences,—celui-là est d'une exigence extrême pour les qualités d'exécution, puisqu'elles sont le tout de l'œuvre d'art qui rejoint toutes les formes existantes dans le domaine de l'inutilité totale . . ." (82).

This development includes a large part of Gautier's æsthetic attitude: his evaluation of exterior beauty, his interest in the sensory as opposed to the ideational in art. It is of benefit to the author, in that it gives him an emotional outlet—in his love for an absolute beauty—which satisfies his tendencies both to fear and to tenderness. It is possible for him to benefit by this development because he has become convinced, through observation, that there is one thing which survives destruction for at least many centuries, which outlasts man and which makes him live through uncounted years. This one permanent thing in a valueless world is the work of art: the original creation of a true beauty. It alone is worthy of regard—for by it man can be perpetuated; it alone is a safe object for devotion, for it can be entirely impersonal, requiring no emotional expression as such. The type of created beauty which is approved by Gautier's self-regarding sentiment and by his philosophical attitude, will be seen as the centre of his æsthetic sentiment.

Formal beauty in the work of art as a permanent object and as a creation which perpetuates its creator, is a fact of existence which Gautier has observed many times and which assumes great importance in the conduct of his life. The idea of the per-

manence of the work of art is not foreign to the author's generation, although his contemporaries ascribe it to a variety of causes. Quinet sees its reason in eternal ideas which are embodied by the artist in his production :

" . . . N'avez-vous jamais été frappés de penser que cet être fragile produit de ces mains fragiles des choses qui ne passent pas, qu'il va mourir demain, et qu'il laissera après lui un livre écrit sur l'écorce d'un arbre, une statue, moins que cela, une toile éphémère; et ni les années, ni les siècles, n'effaceront les lignes de ce livre; et les empires passeront auprès de ce piédestal et cette statue restera inébranlable, ou, si elle est renversée, ceux qui viendront bientôt la redresseront, et cette toile que peut déchirer un souffle survivra elle-même à plus d'une race d'hommes. Pourquoi cette immutabilité, si ce n'est parce que, entre toutes les pensées éphémères de son temps, l'artiste s'est attaché à une idée impérissable, souverainement positive, c'est-à-dire à quelque chose de divin, qui, comme un piédestal indestructible, soutient son œuvre et l'élève au-dessus des atteintes de la durée. Tout s'altère, tout succombe, tout meurt, excepté elle, qui, même ensevelie, reste belle d'une beauté incorruptible, comme les mathématiques restent vraies d'une vérité éternellement immuable, qui peut être enfouie ou voilée, mais non vieillir ou changer. Le spectateur mobile disparaît; l'art, fondé en l'éternel, subsiste. En faut-il des exemples? Ils sont partout. La Grèce antique est brisée en pièces, et la statue de sa Niobé est encore à cette heure debout comme une veuve sur un sépulcre. L'empire romain, où est-il? Dans la poussière de la campagne de Rome, et la statue du gladiateur mourant lui survit, qui, de ses lèvres de marbre, sourit à cette disparition de tous les spectateurs du cirque "(83).

Ténint, on the other hand, justifies his attempt at formulating Romantic prosody by referring to the necessity of *form* for survival-value :

" Si quelque poète, grand par la pensée, parvient, grâce à ce livre, à conquérir la forme, à compléter son talent, nous aurons donc fait une œuvre éminemment utile, puisque les plus grands penseurs n'ont pu survivre quand ils n'ont pas eu la forme.

" Une belle pensée, sans la forme, c'est une statue de plâtre que le temps mine, ronge, dégrade et fait tomber en poussière.

" Avec la forme, c'est une statue de bronze.

" En plâtre ou en bronze, cette statue peut être d'une exquise beauté et d'une grande pureté de lignes,—seulement l'une s'écroule et l'autre reste debout "(84).

The young Flaubert had come to the same conclusions, and wrote in 1839:

" Les poètes sont comme des statues qu'on retrouve dans les ruines; on les oublie parfois longtemps, mais on les retrouve intactes au milieu d'une poussière qui n'a plus de nom: tout a péri, eux seuls durent. . . . Eh bien; ce poète et ces vers sont plus immortels que votre palais dont les pierres se disjoignent, que votre empire qui se démembre, que vos trésors qui se dispersent "(85).

It is this same thought which Gautier incorporated in the stanzas of "L'Art" many years later:

"Tout passe.—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité,
Le buste
Survit à la cité,

"Et la médaille austère
Que trouve un laboureur
Sous terre,
Révèle un empereur.

"Les dieux eux-mêmes meurent.
Mais les vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus forts que les airains"(86).

The poet, however, had noted this characteristic of art in his earliest preoccupation with creative work, and he, like Ténint, had ascribed its existence to reasons of *form*. There is no doubt that here he agreed with a current of his times, but it is quite as certain that the facts set before him received meaning from his individual constitution, and that his need of finding a value in life (something which would enable him to perpetuate himself) led in large measure to the development of his love for formal beauty. In 1837, he writes of the perfection and the immortality of certain art-objects:

" . . . La tête (de Bacchus), comme toutes les têtes antiques, est d'une perfection régulière qui va peut-être jusqu'à la froideur; on n'est plus accoutumé à cette beauté étrange, impassible, éternelle qui est celle de toutes les divinités païennes.

" . . . L'art antique est si parfait, si complet, que le moindre fragment a une valeur particulière, et signifie toujours quelque chose . . ."(87).

He notes in Pompeii the ever-new paintings, ancient as the world (88); he praises the church of Saint Isaac for the impression of immortality given by its architecture (89). Ingres existed in a majestic tranquillity, "étranger à son temps et vivant avec Phidias et Raphaël cette vie éternelle de l'art, qui est la vraie, puisque de toute civilisation disparue il ne reste souvent qu'un poème, une statue ou un tableau" (90). In Constantinople Gautier was preoccupied with the thought of the Sultan's mysterious palace:

"Je ne pouvais m'empêcher de penser à tous ces trésors de beauté perdus pour le regard humain, à tous ces types merveilleux de la Grèce, de la Circassie, de la Géorgie, de l'Inde et de l'Afrique, qui s'évanouissent sans avoir été reproduits par le marbre ou la toile, sans que l'art les ait éternisés et légués à

l'amoureuse admiration des siècles : Vénus qui n'auront jamais leur Praxitèle, Violantes dénuées de Titien, Fornarines que ne verra pas Raphaël" (91).

The Parthenon would have survived indefinitely in its radiant perfection, if man—like time—had refrained from attacking it.

" . . . Les siècles, plus pieux que les peuples, l'avaient respecté comme s'ils eussent eu le sentiment de l'art et qu'ils eussent compris l'impuissance de l'humanité à refaire une semblable merveille . . . "

To Gautier, believing in the permanence of art, desirous himself of some form of perpetuation, it would be painful to efface the name of Phidias from the frieze of the Parthenon (92).

Théophile Gautier, then, can love formal beauty for a permanence which is consistent with his sentiment of self-regard and with his philosophical attitude. Around permanent beauty, indeed, there were organized various simple and complex emotional tendencies of great importance in his disposition, and the resulting æsthetic sentiment was of primary influence upon his production. Feydeau, in speaking of the hero of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, calls attention to its strength:

" . . . Il n'aime dans tout le monde qu'une seule chose: la beauté; il l'aime avec une passion qui ne peut jamais être satisfaite, car la beauté réelle, matérielle, dans sa forme la plus parfaite, n'approche même pas de celle qui se lève dans l'imagination des poètes. Pour mieux dire, la plus splendide réalité ne vaudra jamais l'idéal. Le héros de Théophile Gautier, qui n'est autre que lui-même, s'est trompé de siècle et de contrée en venant au monde. Il devait naître en Grèce, au temps de Périclès" (93).

Gautier's critics have followed his contemporaries in this analysis of his feelings; Küchler and Luitz, who have turned their attention to the author's æsthetic ideas, have necessarily brought his love of beauty into especial prominence. None, however, has been more impressed by the part it played in his life and work than was Baudelaire. The articles which deal with Gautier, collected in his *Art romantique*, emphasize this point, and in the notice on Gautier which he wrote for Crépet's *Poètes français* he again calls attention to it:

"Heureux homme! homme digne d'envie! il n'a aimé que le beau; il n'a cherché que le beau; et quand un objet grotesque ou hideux s'est offert à ses yeux, il a su encore en extraire une mystérieuse et symbolique beauté! Homme doué d'une faculté unique, puissante comme la fatalité, il a exprimé, sans fatigue, sans effort, toutes les attitudes, tous les regards, toutes les couleurs qu'adopte la nature, ainsi que le sens intime contenu dans tous les objets qui s'offrent à la contemplation de l'œil humain" (94).

According to Gautier, beauty must be sought and awaited patiently:

"La beauté a plus de voiles qu'Isis. Elle ne se présente pas tout d'abord et dans tout son éclat; elle a ses heures d'éclipse et de défaillance; son rayonnement n'est pas toujours aussi intense. Un amant discret et persévérant ne se rebute pas pour cela, il sait attendre, il est là patiemment assis, le crayon à la main. Le nuage se déchire, le rayon tombe, le profil se découpe, le front s'illumine, la beauté se révèle, mais aux initiés, et aux adeptes seulement, l'homme vulgaire qui était peut-être présent ne s'est douté de rien" (95).

The artist who finds it is thus above the ordinary run of men; he is a superior being. Love of beauty and its pursuit imply, in its admirer, qualities which justify self-regard. Again, the true work of art is autonomous; it contains its own value and its creator therefore has his part in the absolute:

"L'art doit exister par lui-même en dehors de la philosophie, de la poésie et de l'histoire et c'est pour cela qu'un torse grec, sans tête ni bras, ni jambes, fragment anonyme d'une statue détruite, peut jeter dans une pure extase toute âme sensible à la beauté plastique; les artistes de l'école allemande ont trop souvent oublié cette vérité fondamentale, et, par là, singulièrement diminué l'effet et la valeur de leurs œuvres" (96).

Art is as omnipotent as God (97), and he who creates it must likewise be powerful. If by some accident or by some evil design the work be made to perish, its author suffers with it—and to destroy the beautiful is thus the ultimate sin:

"En contemplant ce désastre, nous éprouvions l'amer chagrin que cause l'irréparable. Un palais au besoin se rebâtit, mais un chef d'œuvre disparu, une peinture évanouie dans le tourbillon de flamme et de fumée se dissipe comme une âme impossible à reconstituer. Sur ce bûcher infâme, ce n'était pas comme sur le bûcher antique, le corps de notre ami qui avait brûlé, c'était son esprit même" (98).

The beautiful, all-powerful, is able to bring consolation even in the worst disaster, and the man who can abstract himself in its contemplation will escape great suffering. Gautier could forget war while looking at the incomparable magnificence of the garden of the Tuileries; his being, little by little, "malgré tout, malgré les Prussiens, malgré le siège, éprouvait cette sensation de bien-être intime et de joie sereine que procure, même aux moments les plus tristes, la contemplation du beau" (99). So, too, at Versailles,

“ Nous restâmes là quelque temps comme à un endroit sacré où le pèlerin dit sa prière, et le calme descendait sur nous, le sentiment de l'art oublié nous reprenait; des idées de poésie voltigeaient autour de nous en palpitant les ailes comme des bouffées de colombe.

“ Nous songions à la forme idéale, au rythme divin, à l'immortelle beauté, aux nymphes et aux vierges de Grèce qui courent les pieds nus dans la rosée, couronnées de smilax et de violettes, à tous ces beaux mensonges flottant comme un voile d'or sur la nudité de la vie ”(100).

Gautier, the tender and the fearful, found protection in his love for formal beauty, just as he found there, for the satisfaction of his pride and of his contempt for ordinary life, a durable existence.

The possibility of the adoption of formal beauty as a principal centre around which Gautier's emotional tendencies might be grouped is dependent on his sensory make-up as well as on the emotions themselves. Indeed, it is from this source that the truly æsthetic direction of his sentiment comes, for permanence and consolation are, after all, extra-æsthetic characters and do not necessarily imply beauty for their manifestation. It was the visual sensation which Gautier perceived most vividly, which brought him the most intrinsic pleasure. He was interested in colour as such and in nature and art for their formal qualities (101). Even aside from any strictly emotional reaction, the sight of certain objects seems to have been particularly pleasant to him. The manifestations of absolute beauty which Gautier recognizes, and which are most indicative of his conception, demonstrate the necessity for both sensory and emotional satisfactions in the object to be known as beautiful. As d'Albert says:

“ Trois choses me plaisent: l'or, le marbre et la pourpre,—éclat, solidité, couleur. Mes rêves sont faits de cela, et tous les palais que je bâtis à mes chimères sont construits de ces matériaux ”(102).

Gautier's identification of beauty and visible form in art is made at an early date, and Luitz, in the study of his æsthetic theory, points to this characteristic of the artist:

“ Gautier . . . kann, wenn er streng sein wollen, das Schöne sich nicht ohne Kunst, nicht ausserdem der Kunst denken. Das Schöne kann in seiner vollkommensten Form nur in der Kunst für ihn erkennbar werden.

"Schönheit ist ein Traum, der realisiert werden muss, und der nur von einer ganz kleinen Schar auserlesener, berufener Menschen realisiert werden kann"(103).

There is, indeed, a certain inner response to the sight of the artistically beautiful. When Malivert saw the Parthenon, rising from the Acropolis and illumined by the bright morning light, "il eut le frémissement que donne la sensation du beau, et il comprit ce qui jusqu'alors lui avait semblé obscur. Tout l'art grec se révélait à lui, romantique, dans cette rapide vision, c'est-à-dire la parfaite proportion de l'ensemble, la pureté absolue des lignes, la suavité incomparable de la couleur faite de blancheur, d'azur, et de lumière" (104). The traveller's direct expression of his reaction to this scene emphasizes still further his absorption in the visual manifestation of beauty:

"Là, en effet, posée sur l'acropole comme sur un trépied d'or au milieu du chœur sculptural des montagnes de l'Attique, rayonne immortellement la beauté vraie, absolue, parfaite. . . . En face de cette oeuvre si pure, si noble, si belle, si harmonieusement balancée sur un rythme divin, on tombe dans une humble et profonde rêverie, on se pose d'inquiétantes questions, on se demande si le génie humain, qui croit courir d'un pas si rapide le chemin du progrès, n'a pas, au contraire, suivi une marche rétrograde, et l'on se dit que, malgré les religions nouvelles, les inventions de toutes sortes, . . . l'idée du beau a disparu de la terre ou que ses enfants sont impuissants à la rendre . . ." (105).

It is only through attention to form that this idea of the beautiful may be made plain, and form is preëminently displayed in the human body:

". . . La forme la plus parfaite que l'homme puisse concevoir est la sienne propre. Son imagination ne saurait aller au delà; la représentation du corps humain, dégagée de toute particularité et de tout accident, constitue le beau idéal. . . .

"Le corps humain étant admis comme la figure de l'idéal, ses formes furent ennoblies, agrandies, dégagées de tout détail misérable; on balança ses lignes par une eurhythmie savante . . . et l'on arriva ainsi à tailler ces blancs poèmes de marbre dont les strophes brisées se retrouvent dans les fouilles, pour faire l'admiration et le désespoir de l'art moderne"(106).

"Jamais artiste, si grand qu'il fût, n'a imaginé une forme, et, quand on veut rendre des sujets abstraits comme Dieu, les esprits célestes, on est obligé d'en revenir aux types humains"(107).

Fifteen years before Gautier wrote these two eulogies of the human form as beauty made visible, as the basis of art, he had had the same love for the absolute in visual manifestations:

" Nous avons un tel amour pour ce divin poème de la forme humaine, chanté en strophes de marbre par les artistes grecs que toutes les fois que se présente l'occasion de prêcher le *mu*, c'est-à-dire le dessin, la beauté, l'art invariable, éternel, qui ne peut devenir ridicule par un changement de mode, nous le saisissons par les cheveux, nous en usons et nous en abusons " (108).

Art, indeed, absorbs the whole man. If he loves beauty sufficiently, he is always seeking it and, when he comes upon it, its contemplation or its reproduction satisfies all his desires, exhausts all his energies.

" Lorsqu'une fois l'art s'est emparé d'une âme, il la hante à toutes les heures, il la possède, en prenant le mot au sens liturgique, et nul exorcisme ne peut l'en chasser. L'âme, d'ailleurs, aime son démon, quoiqu'il la tourmente et la fasse souvent souffrir, et elle serait bien fâchée d'en être délivrée à jamais. Rien ne distrait le poète de son ode, le sculpteur de sa statue, le peintre de son tableau. Au milieu des plus grandes catastrophes, une rime, une forme, une couleur les occupent. Cela ne les empêche pas de se dévouer à la patrie, de faire le sacrifice de leur vie avec un parfait sang-froid, et de placer leur balle aussi à-propos qu'un franc-tireur. Mais ils voient toujours la nature à travers l'événement; ils dégagent la beauté même de l'horreur et cherchent à transporter les faits dans la sphère de l'art " (109).

Gautier finds that an artistic preoccupation is always active, that even unconsciously the artist observes as an artist and exercises, perhaps involuntarily, the powers of perception, of sensory discrimination, in which he has trained himself. " Dans la rapidité de l'action la plus vertigineuse, il ne perd jamais de vue la forme et la couleur. Sa mémoire, habituée à saisir les lignes, prend en courant le reflet ineffaçable des choses " (110). The very ruins of his beloved Paris are first of all *beautiful* to the artist, for he cannot lose his habit of observation even in the midst of action (111). Beauty, apparent in the visual art, capable of consoling its adorer, of endowing him with an eternal renown, exacts constant service in return:

" L'art est le but et non le moyen, et jamais il n'en existe de plus élevé. Tout poète, statuaire ou peintre qui met sa plume, son ciseau ou sa brosse au service d'un système quelconque, peut être un homme d'état, un moraliste, un philosophe, mais nous nous défierons beaucoup de ses vers, de ses statues et de ses tableaux: il n'a pas compris que le beau est supérieur à tout autre concept. Platon n'a-t-il pas dit: le beau est la splendeur du vrai! " (112)

Gautier's sentiment of love for beauty is not static, and in it are organized his self-regarding and philosophical tendencies.

The author desires something of permanent value for himself, he enjoys creation to at least a certain extent, he wishes to express himself and yet to remain, as far as possible, safe from the dangers of expression in organized society; finally, he loves beauty and wishes to see it spread among men, to see absolute beauty made manifest before them. These various desires will, in so far as they remain uninhibited by other forces, lead their possessor to an attempt at the creation of beauty and, at the same time, they will impose upon him certain limitations as to the form, certain exigencies as to the manner of this incarnation. Some arts will be favoured above others, each will have its rules of action, the end to which they are working will have constant influence on the means. Gautier's especial organization of sentiments will correspond to certain definitions of beauty, to certain requirements in its creation.

The author's artistic theory, built up in connection with his love for beauty, is further manifested in his idea of the relationship of art to other phenomena of life and in his conception of the goal to which it may attain. Toward the end of his life, he wrote on the purpose of art certain phrases which sum up his attitude in this matter:

"Le but de l'art, on l'a trop oublié de nos jours, n'est pas la reproduction exacte de la nature, mais bien la création, au moyen des formes et des couleurs qu'elle nous livre, d'un microcosme où puissent habiter et se produire les rêves, les sensations et les idées que nous inspire l'aspect du monde . . ." (113).

The contemplation of the world aroused in Gautier various reflections in regard to its connection with this new creation. Some of these are concerned directly with the relation between truth and art, and thus with realism as such. The theorist advocates, as suggested above, an idealism which shall proceed from the refraction of the artist's actual observations.

"La mission de l'artiste n'est pas de copier la nature, mais de l'exprimer. Tu n'es pas un vil copiste, mais un poète. . . . Autrement, un sculpteur serait quitte de tous ses travaux en montrant une femme. . . . Nous avons à saisir l'esprit, l'âme, la physionomie des choses et des êtres. . . . Ni le peintre, ni le poète, ni le sculpteur, ne doivent séparer l'effet de la cause, qui sont invinciblement l'un dans l'autre. La véritable lutte est là! . . . Ce n'est qu'après de longs combats qu'on peut. . . . contraindre (la Beauté) à se montrer sous son véritable aspect. . . . Ainsi a procédé Raphaël. . . .

"La forme est, dans ses figures, ce qu'elle est chez nous, un truchement pour se communiquer des idées, des sensations, une vaste poésie. Toute figure est un monde, un portrait . . ." (114).

A realism which is based on the rendering of all that may be observed in nature is not, however, in accordance with Gautier's ideas. He takes to task those artists who depend on the reproduction of costume, of characteristic detail, for the interest of their paintings and he believes that the Ancients were right in seeing in the eternally-true: human form, human beauty, human passion,—the veritable basis of art.

"Malgré les grandes qualités d'exécution qu'il exige, je n'ai jamais aimé l'art vrai, l'art mathématique, sans invention, sans fantaisie; l'art qui rend les verrues, les pores de la peau . . . le grain de petite vérole;—l'art miroir, aussi déplaisant, à peu de chose près, que la réalité même.—Ce système d'art vrai, que l'on cherche à faire prévaloir maintenant, est cause de notre infériorité auprès des artistes antiques, éternellement jeunes, éternellement beaux, parce qu'ils n'ont représenté que des types et non des individus, des ajustements de convention et non des costumes exacts" (115).

Gautier, who loves an ideal beauty, who hates the reality which, while worthless, still can make him suffer, who desires himself to be eternally young and beautiful, can well advance this theory as to realistic art. He goes even further in denying to the nature which must be transformed by art an intrinsic worth comparable to that of the re-creation. Thus, when he speaks of the ugly scenes which Cabat chooses as subject for his paintings, he points out the addition which the artist has given to reality:

"Cabat est peut-être un des peintres modernes qui ont le mieux démontré l'inutilité et l'insignifiance du sujet. De rien, il a fait des choses ravissantes et pleines de poésie . . . ; toute une nature rabougrie, mesquine, malheureuse, qui semble repousser la peinture et la description; il n'en faut pas plus à Cabat pour faire de petits paysages merveilleux.—Et notez qu'il ne ment pas, qu'il ne farde rien; tout est sincère, juste de forme et de ton.—Le modèle est hideux, le portrait est charmant; comment cela se fait-il? . . . C'est que l'art est plus beau, plus vrai, plus puissant que la nature; la nature est stupide, sans conscience d'elle-même, sans pensée, sans passion; c'est quelque chose d'insensible et de morne qui a besoin, pour l'animer, que nous lui prêtions l'âme et le souffle . . ." (116).

Art, then, is above nature; it is likewise beyond the need of moral doctrine; it has an independence of human connections. Gautier writes that in so far as it is concerned, he has no religion but that of art itself; he receives as much pleasure from Venus as from

the Virgin, and is guided in his religious adherence only by the talent of the sculptor, for the arts are not systems of morals.

"Tous les artistes ont un fond de paganisme, et leur catholicité est généralement douteuse. Les grands sculpteurs surtout ne montrent pas une grande orthodoxie. Ils sont de la religion de Phidias et de Cléomène. Qu'est-ce qu'en effet que la statuaire sinon un hymne de marbre à la beauté, une déification de la forme? . . ." (117).

Here again Gautier, lover of beauty, works out a theory which satisfies still another of his emotional tendencies: that of respect toward all ancient mythology and religion.

An art which dispenses with all systems of morals, which creates its own religion, is indeed one which exists for its own sake. In the type of artistic production which Gautier has been found to support, *idea* was mingled with the rendering of reality, but the critic did not specify the manner in which the mingling was to be accomplished. This method is important, for upon it depends very largely the meaning which must be attached to his theory of art for art's sake. In 1841, he writes, on the subject of Soumet's *Divine Épopée*, certain words which indicate the value he ascribed to the actual process of rendering, to the technique of the arts:

"L'on a beaucoup agité, dans ces derniers temps, la question de la prééminence de la pensée sur la forme, l'on a beaucoup parlé du spiritualisme et du matérialisme, de la synthèse et de l'esthétique. Nous croyons que l'on s'est mépris sur la véritable portée de l'art: l'art, c'est la beauté, l'invention perpétuelle du détail, le choix des mots, le soin exquis de l'exécution; le mot poète veut dire littéralement *faiseur*; tout ce qui n'est pas bien fait n'existe pas. . . . La métaphysique n'est pas l'art, il ne faut pas s'y tromper, et Kant n'a rien à faire avec les poètes . . ." (118).

At about the same time, Gautier expressed himself even more directly on the absolute necessity of form, regardless of the subject to be treated, and it would seem that for him the formative work of the artist was an integral part of the *idea* by which he should transpose nature and make it into something of permanent value. Without this organically creative work on the part of the artist, reality, whether of material or of spiritual nature, cannot become beauty. Thus he writes of Victor Hugo:

" . . . C'est un génie essentiellement plastique, amoureux et curieux de la forme, ainsi que tout véritable jeune. La forme, quoi qu'on ait dit, est tout. Jamais on n'a pensé qu'une carrière de pierre fût artiste de génie; l'important

"est la façon que l'on donne à cette pierre, car, autrement, où serait la différence d'un bloc et d'une statue! . . .

"Le monde est la carrière, l'idée le bloc, et le poète le sculpteur. Sait-il son métier, ou ne le sait-il pas? Voilà la question! . . .

"Je ne suis point de ceux qui croient qu'une pensée peut être ôtée impunément d'une œuvre quelconque. Vous avez une toile où il y a un nœud, vous arrachez ce nœud, mais vous arrachez avec lui le fil auquel il tient, et vous faites un vide dans toute la longueur de la trame: il en est ainsi des pensées. Retranchez une phrase au premier acte; vous en rendez trois autres inintelligibles au second, six au troisième, et ainsi de suite.

"Toute œuvre naît complète, bien ou mal conformée, elle a la jambe fine, ou elle est boîteuse. C'est la chance; mais couper la cuisse à un pied bot ne me paraît pas un moyen de lui faire une belle jambe." (119).

The work of art is dependent on the poet who composes it, and its form is something organic, necessary to the object for its particular existence, perhaps the most important element in its composition. The whole question of the relation of form and idea in art is discussed by Gautier in 1847, in the especial connection which it bears to his doctrines of the autonomy of art and of its true equivalence to beauty:

"Le programme de l'école moderne . . . est de rechercher la beauté pour elle-même avec une impartialité complète, un désintéressement parfait, sans demander le succès à des allusions ou à des tendances étrangères au sujet traité. . . .

"La grande erreur des adversaires de la doctrine de l'art pour l'art . . . c'est de croire que la forme peut être indépendante de l'idée; la forme ne peut se produire sans idée, et l'idée sans forme. L'âme a besoin du corps, le corps a besoin de l'âme. . . .

" . . . Un artiste avant tout est un homme; il peut refléter dans son œuvre, soit qu'il les partage, soit qu'il les repousse, les amours, les haines, les passions, les croyances et les préjugés de son temps, à la condition que l'art sacré, sera toujours pour lui le but et non le moyen. Ce qui a été exécuté dans une autre intention que de satisfaire aux éternelles lois du beau ne saurait avoir de valeur dans l'avenir. . . .

"L'art pour l'art veut dire non pas la forme pour la forme, mais bien la forme pour le beau, abstraction faite de toute idée étrangère, de tout détournement au profit d'une doctrine quelconque, de toute utilité directe. Aucun maître ou disciple de l'école moderne n'a entendu autrement cette formule devenue célèbre par des polémiques sans intelligence et sans bonne foi. . . ." (120).

This theory of art, built up on the basis of Gautier's sentiments, has various requirements for its transformation into practice, and the author develops it in certain general directions. As he noted in his defense of art for art's sake, each artist is at liberty to choose his subject for himself, and he may, if he will, occupy

himself with contemporary passions and the ideas of his time. "Il y a, dans la vie générale où chacun trempe plus ou moins, un côté ému et palpitant que l'art a le droit de formuler et dont il peut tirer des œuvres magnifiques; mais nous préférons la beauté absolue et pure, qui est de tous les temps, de tous les pays, de tous les cultes, et réunit dans une communion admirative le passé, le présent et l'avenir" (121). This universal art is truly characteristic of Gautier, for the connection between its *communion admirative* and his hierarchy of sentiments is easily remarked. The author speaks many times of the merit of force in artistic production, and he praises the boldness with which certain painters go about their work, and the lifelikeness which they produce in it (122). This display of vigour, this evidence of courage, seem admirable to a man of the quiescence and the timidity of Gautier, who yet desires to appear strong in the eyes of posterity. The work which the artist produces does not need to be *new* in subject-matter; Gautier's indifference to content has already been noted and is explicable positively by his belief in form as the greatest factor for beauty, negatively by the relative weakness of his desire for originality. On the other hand, conscious selection of the curious is justifiable in poet or painter, for it indicates a certain mastery of his tools, an approach to perfection which can be reached only when the handling of form no longer presents difficulties to the artist.

" . . . A nos yeux, ce qu'on appelle décadence est au contraire maturité complète, la civilisation extrême, le couronnement des choses. Alors un art souple, complexe, à la fois objectif et subjectif, investigateur, curieux, puisant des nomenclatures dans tous les dictionnaires, empruntant des couleurs à toutes les palettes, des harmonies à toutes les lyres, demandant à la science ses secrets et à la critique ses analyses, aide le poète à rendre les pensées, les rêves et les postulations de son esprit. . . ." (123).

Thus, in Greece, the traveller admires especially some of the sculpture of the temple of the Nike Apteros on account of a perfection which is due to the very refinement of the art. The stimulus to this refinement is the necessity to create something, to avoid the celebrated commonplaces; so the time when it entered into art is, perhaps, "pour les raffinés le moment le plus exquis des grands siècles; le beau a conscience de lui-même; il est voulu au lieu

d'être spontané, et, quand la tentative a réussi, le but suprême est atteint, l'effort humain ne saurait aller au delà" (124). So Gautier, who by the whole hierarchy of his tendencies is inclined to render beauty by means of a formal and highly self-conscious art, works out a scale of æsthetic values which, at its apex, allows of just such an art as he desires.

Théophile Gautier does not expect that every artist shall succeed in rendering the whole of beauty; as a matter of fact, all the great creators "ont représenté une face de l'idéal que nul ne peut voir tout entier, et cela suffit à leur gloire. . . . D'autres points de vue se révéleront avec le temps, et le beau de l'avenir se fera entrevoir sous d'autres masques, déposés tour à tour. . . ." (125). For the present, the facets of the beautiful which are made known to men vary according to the different arts employed and while, in his Utopia, Gautier sees a synthetic art which shall combine all known forms for the perfect rendering of beauty, he finds in the actual manifestations a certain charm, corresponding to the especial branch chosen:

" . . . Chaque art a . . . son impuissance d'où résulte une partie de ses beautés. Les efforts immenses du poète à qui manque la plastique des formes, du peintre à qui manque la succession des idées, du sculpteur à qui manque le mouvement, du compositeur à qui manque le mot, ont produit les œuvres les plus merveilleuses de l'esprit humain. Chacun de ces artistes est dévoré d'un désir ardent, inextinguible, que Dieu assouvira sans doute dans l'autre monde, car tout désir a droit d'être satisfait. Dans le ciel . . . l'un touchera ses vers, l'autre entendra sa sculpture, et lui, verra sa musique. Tous les arts palpiteront ensemble dans la même œuvre, et chaque œuvre nagera dans un milieu de lumière et de parfums, atmosphère de ce paradis intellectuel!" (126).

In the arts of the present which are to be superseded by this ideal rendering of beauty, the critic finds a hierarchy which depends, for its ordering, on the effectiveness with which each art is able to express a facet of absolute beauty. Gautier, who is especially interested in *visual* form on account of the intrinsic pleasure which he receives from his sensations of colour and line, etc., finds that an art which of its nature cannot reproduce this form is inferior to the plastic arts: he puts music in the least honourable place of his hierarchy. The cause for this location lies in his

disposition—in his individual sensory and emotional pleasures—and his definition of the domain of music makes this clear :

“La musique, nous l'avons dit plusieurs fois, et nous ne saurions trop le redire maintenant que tant de gens s'en exagèrent la portée, ne peut rendre que des sentiments et des passions. C'est le moins historique de tous les arts; les faits, les dates, les détails, tout ce qui est particulier lui échappe. La musique, et c'est là sa beauté, commence où finit la parole; elle rend tout ce qu'il y a dans l'âme de vaguement sonore, d'onduleux, d'infini, d'inexplicable, tout ce que le verbe n'a pas pu formuler. C'est le soupir de l'amour, et le cri admiratif de la créature devant la création; c'est la langue sacrée universelle qui se parlait avant la dispersion de la tour de Babel; langue sans mots, entendue de tous, tant que le monde a été en harmonie. . . ” (127).

The plastic arts, on the other hand, are not *vague*, they are able to *formulate*, they can deal with the *details* of the universe which, for Gautier the nihilist, alone have a real value. Moreover, “il y a au fond de tout être, si humble et si pauvre qu'il soit, une aspiration secrète vers les féeries de l'opulence. L'amour de l'or, de la pourpre, du marbre, tourmente plus ou moins toutes les âmes ” (128). Thus the plastic arts also correspond in some degree to the inner needs of men, and express as truly as does music, though in a different manner, some of their aspirations.

In the plastic arts, painting has a lower place than sculpture, for it is more complex, more dependent upon the accidental, and less permanent.

“La statuaire est à la fois pleine d'abstraction et de réalité, dépouillant les objets de leurs couleurs pour leur donner la teinte neutre du marbre et du bronze, elle conserve les saillies et les retraites. Elle se rapproche de la nature. Un aveugle peut l'apprécier. La peinture ne traduit au contraire que l'apparence des corps et n'a pas la sincérité de la statuaire; en revanche, elle demande la science de la perspective aérienne et linéaire, du mélange et de la dégradation des teintes; c'est un art complexe. La sculpture est un art simple dont les ressources sont plus bornées mais plus certaines; ses œuvres ont une durée pour ainsi dire sans limite et atteignant l'éternité relative dont l'homme peut disposer. C'est par quelques morceaux de marbre sculptés que . . . l'art antique est parvenu jusqu'à nous. Phidias vit, Appellès n'est plus qu'une tradition. A cause de ces conditions de solidité et de durée, la sculpture est vraiment un art divin, héroïque et royal. A elle reviennent de droit les symboles religieux, les apothéoses des grands hommes et les types suprêmes de beauté: la dureté des matières qu'elle emploie, le temps qu'elle exige, éloigne d'elle toute frivolité, c'est le plus sérieux de tous les arts. . . ” (129).

While painting, thus, is in a sense inferior to sculpture, it still has the merit of colour, and the true work of art in this *genre* implies

in its creator a power of observation and of discrimination which is not possessed by all men and which raises him, consequently, above the man who is not an artist.

" . . . Là où l'homme inexercé . . . n'a aperçu qu'une seule teinte, l'artiste en découvre cinquante; il suit jusqu'au bout des gammes de tons variés qui ne paraissent aux bourgeois qu'un tapage assourdissant de couleur; certaines inflexions de lignes inappréciables pour tout autre lui causent d'inexprimables ravissements. Il a toutes sortes de bonnes fortunes de détails; il pénètre dans mille petites beautés intérieures dont il a la possession exclusive; il jouit de la beauté intime du tableau . . ." (130).

Very few people know how to express their feelings and render their thought visible to another; the plastic arts have need, therefore, of certain definite subjects, agreed on in advance, which shall be easily intelligible to everyone. "Une mythologie est absolument nécessaire à un art plastique." Painting, indeed, lends itself with great difficulty to anecdote, for the exceptional action is less comprehensible than the typical, and it is by the formulating of the typical that the art receives its worth:

" . . . La peinture n'est autre chose que la poésie et la glorification de la forme; la forme est éternelle; le sujet, l'action, ne sont que des accidents. Quand on veut être un grand peintre, c'est donc à la forme qu'il faut s'attacher opiniâtement " (131).

Here again it is for the permanent quality in its composition that the specific art is valued, and here also sculpture has an advantage over painting, for it works with the human body as model, that most inexhaustible, eternal and most beautiful of subjects.

" . . . En étudier les savantes harmonies, en reproduire les lignes pures et les nobles contours, chercher, à travers les imperfections des modèles vivans, à retrouver l'empreinte du sculpteur divin, restituer les traits effacés ou altérés par les misères des civilisations, et tâcher de remplacer sur le piédestal cette statue telle qu'elle apparut au septième jour de la création, dans la période édénique, nous semble l'ambition la plus haute, le travail le plus religieux qu'il soit donné de concevoir et d'accomplir . . ." (132).

Gautier, then, sees in the plastic arts a means of achieving permanence and also a method of giving some value to life. He rejoices in the perpetuation of living beings through painting and sculpture, and finds that this perpetuation is due to the form which is given to them in these arts. In sculpture the reproduction is even more lasting than in painting, on account of the material in

which the artist works. This material, by its very hardness, is durable, and the effort which the creator makes in struggling to form from it a work of art is compensated for by the relative immortality of the finished piece. The author's reasoning here is comprehensible and appears to rest firmly upon his philosophical convictions, but he attempts to extend it, in a rather doubtful manner, to justify or at least to explain his belief in poetry as the rival of sculpture. According to Gautier, words are as hard, as shining, as cold as marble, and, by an extension of this figure and its transformation into a statement of *fact*, he argues that they are as lasting.

"Il est doux pour les âmes que n'altère pas l'âpre soif du gain de ciseler solitairement dans le marbre et dans les vers, ces deux matières dures, étincelantes et froides, son rêve d'amour et de beauté. Bien que les ciseaux parfois refusent de mordre, rebrousse ou éclatent sur un contour rebelle, que les ampoules viennent aux mains et les perles au front, on se dit: 'J'emploie la suprême forme de l'art, je fais le travail le plus divin auquel l'esprit humain puisse se livrer; peut-être dans deux mille ans ne saura-t-on que Paris a été l'Athènes du Nord que par un fragment de cette statue retiré des décombres, que par quelques vers de ce poème déchiffrés sous un palimpseste.' . . ." (133).

The critic writes in praise of David's *Enfant à la grappe*, and says that no higher eulogy can be made of it than to quote the verses which it has inspired:

"Nous aimons à voir la même pensée ciselée dans le marbre ou dans le vers, deux matières également dures à travailler, mais les seules qui gardent éternellement la forme qu'on leur confie . . ." (134).

The form of the poem does not change, and Gautier is right to say that, in so far as it survives, it lives according to its original nature and thus serves to perpetuate its creator; his logic as to its chance of survival, however, seems to be based on a confusion between his figure and the reality which it mirrors. However, it is not on the question of relative permanence alone that he selects poetry for a high place in his scale of arts. The matter of technical accomplishment enters here, as in painting and sculpture, for the writer who can create true poetry must be ranked, with the plastic artist, as far superior to the ordinary run of men. "En faisant œuvre de littérateur, on a la conscience de faire la chose supérieure par excellence. *Mon art est le premier*, disait

Horace" (135). The creation of poetry carries an actual pleasure in the process itself:

"Les esprits qu'on est convenu d'appeler pratiques peuvent mépriser ces rêveurs qui suivent la Muse dans les bois . . . Ils n'auront pas connu leur pur enchantement: contempler la nature, aspirer à l'idéal, en sculpter la beauté dans cette forme dure et difficile à travailler du vers, qui est comme le marbre de la pensée, n'est-ce pas là un noble et digne emploi de ce temps qu'on regarde aujourd'hui comme de la monnaie?" (136).

Within this form of art, moreover, there are distinctions of value which correspond to Gautier's high rating of the plastic arts: he finds that the literature which is occupied with the plastic subject (with form and colour), which uses its material as the sculptor uses his marble, which has as its end the creation of a true plastic art-object in words, is superior to all other forms. Poetry is above prose, the poem and the novel are more to be prized than the play. In so far as literary production can be made equivalent to plastic art, it will possess certain definite advantages over the non-plastic. So the critic praises the verses of his friend Auguste de Châtillon for their rendering of nature in plastic form:

"M. de Châtillon est peintre; l'habitude d'étudier la nature, de saisir les effets, de suivre les lignes, d'apprécier les rapports des couleurs, lui a donné, sans qu'il la recherchât, une précieuse originalité d'écrivain; chez lui, point de descriptions vagues, point de métaphores mal suivies; chaque objet est à sa place, comme dans un tableau, avec sa lumière, son ombre portée, sa perspective; ses figures sont bien plantées, ont une physionomie distincte, et sont indiquées par une touche vive et spirituelle. Ce qu'il chante, il serait capable de le dessiner, au besoin même de le sculpter, car il manie aussi bien le ciseau que la brosse: jamais nature ne fut plus artiste. Vignette, paroles et musique d'Auguste de Châtillon est une signature qu'il pourrait mettre au bas de chacune de ses charmantes pièces . . . La rime, le rythme, la coupe des strophes dénotent chez lui ce souci constant de la forme, sans lequel il n'y a pas d'œuvre durable" (137).

In addition to the causes for Gautier's choice of the plastic to be found in his ideas of the beautiful and in his interest in visual sensation, there is to be noted another trait which gives the plastic production superiority over the non-plastic: that of its comparative freedom from reproach. In the author's opinion, there are many things which may be represented in painting or in sculpture but which are inadmissible in literature when expressed from the point of view of *idea*; the liberty of the painter in his choice of

models, in his manner of expression, is greater than that of the poet, and the former is in much less danger of criticism and reproach. To Gautier the timid, then, a literature which approaches the plastic in its subject-matter and in its treatment will be possessed of still another merit than the pleasure of its composition and the value of its permanence.

"Eh bien, on pourrait croire que ce qui est admis, recherché, loué, sollicité, encouragé, reconnu sans danger dans les arts plastiques, doit l'être également dans l'art littéraire. Cela, du moins, ne serait que juste et sensé. Essaye cependant un peu, pour voir, dans l'un de tes romans, de décrire le corps d'une belle femme sortant du bain, et tu verras ce qui t'arrivera . . .

"Il y a une seconde considération (en dehors de la récompense) qui me fera toujours regretter de n'avoir pas laissé mes facultés artistiques se développer dans le sens de la peinture: les peintres jouissent tous de la liberté la plus absolue pour le choix des sujets de leurs tableaux . . .

"Moi, je tâche, en toute chose, même dans les scènes de passion dont je ne puis complètement me passer dans mes romans, de demeurer toujours plastique . . .

" . . . Comme je trouve inutile de faire de la copie qu'on n'imprime pas, comme le procédé d'ailleurs, est grossier, offensant pour ma dignité, je me suis réfugié dans la description, certain de ne choquer personne, de n'être pas considéré comme séditieux quand je me livre à la peinture des choses extérieures . . ." (138).

Plastic literature is a safeguard to him, and it is at the same time one of the highest forms of art. On the whole, Théophile Gautier's view of the hierarchy of the arts, which will be found of determining influence on his production, is based on his sensory and emotional preferences and shows plastic art—or its possible substitute, plastic literature—as the ideal means of rendering certain facets of absolute Beauty.

"Du moins, nous autres humbles poètes, qui, tous ensemble, depuis que la terre, accompagnée de son pâle satellite, tourne autour de ce vieux soleil, n'avons pas gagné autant qu'un ténor, une danseuse ou une comédienne, nos rêves et nos pensées, réunies en in-8° ou en in-18, peuvent durer après nous . . . notre art n'est pas fugitif et vain . . .

"Si quelquefois une jalousie secrète a pu nous prendre à la vue de tant d'applaudissements frénétiques, de tant d'ovations folles, de tant de bouquets et de couronnes, de tant de sommes exorbitantes, jetés à la comédienne pour avoir bien récité les vers du poète, cette seule pensée du silence qui doit suivre tout ce bruit, nous en a guéri instantanément . . .

"Triste destinée, après tout, que celle de l'acteur. Il ne peut pas dire comme le poète: *Non omnis moriar* . . . Nous autres sculpteurs patients de ce dur paros qu'on appelle le vers, n'envions pas, dans notre misère et notre solitude, ce bruit, ces applaudissements, ces éloges, ces couronnes, ces pluies d'or et de fleurs. . . ." (139).

Gautier, in several instances, has summed up his inclinations in art, his type of love for beauty and his feeling in regard to its creation. None, perhaps, is more plain than that which formed the preface to *Albertus* in 1832, when he asked what his poetry was worth:

"A quoi cela sert-il?—Cela sert à être beau.—N'est-ce pas assez? comme les fleurs, comme les parfums, comme les oiseaux, comme tout ce que l'homme n'a pu détourner et dépraver à son usage . . ."

"L'art, c'est la liberté, le luxe, l'efflorescence, c'est l'épanouissement de l'âme dans l'oisiveté.—La peinture, la sculpture, la musique ne servent absolument à rien . . . Qui voudrait cependant les retrancher? . . . Le bonheur ne consiste pas à avoir ce qui est indispensable; ne pas souffrir n'est pas jouir, et les objets dont on a le moins besoin sont ceux qui charment le plus . . ." (140).

In the *Croix de Berny*, where Gautier was the prototype of Edgard de Meilhan as well as the writer of this part of the literary steeple-chase, the poet is described in his characteristic attitudes and ideals:

"A l'entendre, vous diriez un impitoyable railleur; à l'étudier, vous trouveriez bientôt, sous cette couche d'ironie sans fiel, plus de candeur et de simplicité qu'il ne s'en soupçonne lui-même, et que n'en ont bon nombre de gens faisant sonner bien haut leur foi et leurs croyances. C'est avec l'esprit d'un sceptique, l'âme crédule d'un néophyte . . ."

" . . . Mon poète a le culte de la beauté, mais ce culte est d'un vrai païen qui ne voit rien au-delà de la forme et de la couleur . . . Poète, il sculpte comme Phidias, et son vers a la blanche chasteté du marbre . . ."

" . . . Edgard n'a qu'un amour profond et vrai; c'est l'amour de l'art, si profond qu'il exclut ou absorbe en lui tous les autres . . . Il aime cette femme en artiste; il n'a fait d'elle que la joie de ses yeux . . . Et puis Edgard n'a rien de ce qui constitue les éléments de la vie sociale. C'est une nature fantastique . . ." (141).

Gautier's nature, then, is possessed of a basic hierarchy of self-regarding, philosophical and æsthetic sentiments. These tendencies are fundamental to his literary practice, as they are to his artistic theory, and the correspondence between disposition and production will be found indicative of certain phases of his creative imagination.

1. SULLY-PRUDHOMME, *L'Expression dans les Beaux-Arts*, pp. 16-17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. *La Presse*, 12 mai 1837.

4. Cf. *Le Voyage en Russie*, I, 185.

5. *Constantinople*, p. 309.
6. *Quand on voyage*, p. 288.
7. "Le Coin du feu," *Poésies complètes*, I, 55.
8. Cited by Lovenjoul, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, pp. 34-39.
9. *Pochades et Paradoxes*, dans les *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 168.
10. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs d'un enfant de Paris*, I, 64.
11. REYER, *Notes de musique*, p. 410.
12. Feuilleton de la *Presse*, 23 mars 1840.
13. *Voyage en Russie*, II, 130. Gautier's associations are those which are suited to the tzigane life.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 145. Cf., also, *ibid.*, pp. 214, 215; *Loin de Paris*, p. 88.
15. Cf. *La Musique*, pp. 2, 8, 213, 285, with the minglings of superstitions, etc., in the dreams aroused by the music heard. Here again the actual sound plays little or no part in the response of the auditor.
16. *De l'intelligence*, I, 434, 2nd edition, cited by Ballet, *Le Langage intérieur et l'aphasie*, pp. 29-30.
17. Cf. *Voyage en Russie*, II, 207; *Tableaux de Siège*, pp. 247-249.
18. Cf. *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 59:
"Le reniflement perpétuel de cette machine, qui, en fonctionnant, crache une noire vapeur, avec un bruit pareil à celui que ferait, en soufflant l'eau salée par ses événements, un monstre marine enrhumé du cerveau, est assurément la chose du monde la plus insupportable et la plus pénible."
19. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 408.
20. *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 60.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
22. *Salon de 1847*, pp. 91-92, on the painting of Diaz.
23. *Henri Regnault*, p. 40.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
25. *Ménagerie intime*, p. 26.
26. Cf., for his interest in colour and in visual sensations in general: *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 110; *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 14; *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 93; *Voyage en Russie*, II, 253; *Loin de Paris*, pp. 40, 344; *Abécédaire* . . ., p. 91.
27. *Constantinople*, pp. 126-127; cf. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 299.
28. *L'Orient*, II, 169.
29. E. et J. DE GONCOURT, *Charles Demailly*, p. 83.
30. YRIARTE, *Portraits cosmopolites*, p. 66.
31. The terminology here, as in the other designations of the emotions, follows that adopted by McDougall in his *Outline of Psychology*; see, in particular, p. 324 of that work.
32. JASINSKI, *Des Documents sur Th. Gautier*.
33. V. Lafond and other biographers for Gautier's love of the south, and for his love of his home at Neuilly, for example. For his love of animals, see, in addition to *Ménagerie intime*, *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 70, various *comptes-rendus* of the circus which appear in the *Histoire de l'art dramatique* . . ., etc.
34. GÉRARD DE NERVAL, *Promenades et Souvenirs*, p. 259.
35. Cf. here, the studies which DuCamp and Faguet made of Gautier's fear of death. Gautier's words on the death of Baudelaire are indicative of his feelings:
"Quelle douleur profonde! . . . L'absolu de la mort se posant sur

"un être cher, connu depuis maintes années, mêlé ça et là à votre vie et à votre pensée, cause toujours une stupeur dont on a peine à se remettre. Eh quoi! cet esprit si fin, si ingénieux, si plein de curiosité et de recherche, soufflé comme une bougie par la froide haleine qui nous éteindra tous! Cette sphère brillant de toutes les couleurs; ce monde d'idées, d'images, de rêves, crevé comme ces bulles qui montent du fond de l'eau! De tout cela plus rien, du moins de perceptible pour nous, car ce globule, en s'évanouissant à la surface du sombre océan des choses, produit peut-être des ondulations jusqu'aux limites de notre univers, au delà de Saturne, d'Uranus et de Neptune."

Le Moniteur Universel, 9 septembre 1867, cited by Boschot, *Chez nos poètes*, p. 232. For descriptions of emotional states of which fear is the main constituent, v. *Constantinople*, pp. 163, 310, 314; *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 71; *Voyage en Russie*, I, 60, 102, II, 80; *Fusains et Eaux-fortes*, p. 244; *Abécédaire* . . . , p. 335; *La Musique*, p. 285, etc. This fear on Gautier's part can be aroused even by objects which he loves:

"Notre affection pour les chiens est mêlée d'un sentiment de peur. Ces excellentes bêtes si bonnes, si fidèles, si dévouées, si amantes, peuvent à un moment donné avoir la rage, et elles deviennent alors plus dangereuses que la vipère trigonocéphale, l'aspic, le serpent à sonnettes et la cobra-capello; et cela nous modère un peu dans nos épanchements. Nous trouvons aussi les chiens un peu inquiétants; ils ont des regards si profonds, si intenses; ils se posent devant vous avec un air si interrogateur, qu'ils vous embarrassent." *Ménagerie intime*, p. 56.

His admiration of courage in others only confirms the deduction of his propensity to fear. Cf. *Henri Regnault*, p. 11:

" . . . La décision de son caractère lui imprime un cachet individuel, car jamais il n'hésite à pousser jusqu'à l'outrance le parti-pris adopté. Nous aimons ces artistes hasardeux qui ne craignent pas la chute lorsqu'il s'agit de franchir un obstacle difficile ou d'atteindre quelque âpre sommet."

36. Judith Gautier's tale of her father's hatred for an ancient schoolmaster is without a parallel in Gautier's biography, and her account of it is written with the emphasis of the unusual. Cf. *le Collier des jours*, pp. 278-279.
37. *Le Collier des jours*, p. 251; *Le Second rang du collier*, p. 118.
38. *Le Second rang du collier*, p. 335.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 135; cf. letters, preserved in the Collection Lovenjoul, written by Gautier in answer to requests for aid, and others in which he attempts to further the interests of his protégés.
40. Cf., for example, *Portraits contemporains*, p. 4.
41. YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
42. *Loin de Paris*, pp. 184, 196.
43. PARFAIT, *Théophile Gautier*, p. 226.
44. *Les Progrès de la poésie française depuis 1830*, dans *l'Histoire du romantisme*, p. 299; cf. *Les Grotesques*, p. ix, x, et *Portraits contemporains*, p. 294.
45. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 201.
46. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 266:
 " . . . L'humble feuilleton qu'une visite interrompait, c'est le pain de la table, la flamme du foyer, la lueur de la lampe, l'aisance et la sécurité de la famille!

"Chacun a quelque implacable nécessité qui lui met sous le nez sa main pleine de clous d'airain, et l'on se rue aveuglement, sauvagement, car il faut vaincre ou périr! . . ."

47. *Voyage en Russie*, II, 67.
48. *L'Orient*, II, 105.
49. "La bonne journée," *Poésies complètes*, I, 342.
50. *Le Moniteur universel*, 8 décembre 1854.
51. *Spirite*, p. 88.
52. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 69.
53. *Compte-rendu des Eléphants de la pagode, Histoire de l'art dramatique*, IV, 176, 15 décembre 1845.
54. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, II, 117.
55. *Compte-rendu des Amours de Psyché, Histoire de l'art dramatique*, II, 153-154, 8 septembre 1841.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
57. *L'Art moderne*, p. 88.
58. Letter of July 13, 1845, to Gautier in Algeria; *Lovenjoul* C-506-9. It should be noted that while Gautier is frequently outspoken in his antagonism to Christianity, this attitude does not form a complete contradiction to his ordinary reverence for all religions. There are many times when he speaks of it most respectfully, and grants to it the same connection with the infinitely-powerful which he sees in all the mythologies and religions of the past. His opposition to it, and his attacks upon it, arise from a different cause: from the influence which Christianity has had on plastic art. According to Gautier, this faith and its practice have been detrimental to art; it has attempted to substitute sanctity for beauty, idea for form, and it is therefore to be condemned. Cf. *Poésies complètes*, I, 215; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, pp. 215, 223; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 126, and, for religious ideals in Christian art, *Poésies complètes*, II, 22 (*la Comédie de la mort*). This divergence in attitude is illustrative of the hierarchy of sentiments in Théophile Gautier.
59. *Paul Baudry, dans les Peintures décoratives* . . . de Bergerat, p. 2.
60. *Guide de l'amateur* . . ., p. 28.
61. *Loin de Paris*, p. 283.
62. *Souvenirs littéraires*, II, 111.
63. JUDITH GAUTIER, *Le Second rang du collier*, pp. 296-298.
64. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 273.
65. *Souvenirs d'un enfant de Paris*, I, 315.
66. BRUNET, *Théophile Gautier, poète*, pp. 299-306, *passim*.
67. F. L., *La Comédie de la Mort* . . ., pp. 78-79, *passim*.
68. *Op. cit.*, scene ix, p. 34.
69. *Scènes populaires de Henri Monnier*, mai 1835, dans les *Fusains et eaux-fortes*, p. 21.
70. Lettre du 7 janvier 1857; *Lovenjoul* C-488-223.
71. Dans la *Charte de 1830*, 28 mars 1838. Cf., also, for this general point of view, *Poésies complètes*, I, 253, 265; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 123.
72. *Poésies complètes*, I, 48, 55, 68, 193, 332; *les Grotesques*, p. 38.
73. Cf. Alfred de Vigny, the most illustrious of the Romantic pessimists. Canat, in his book on the *Sentiment de la solitude morale* . . ., calls attention to this whole trend, and to its development from the first Romanticism, through the second, to the Parnassians.
74. *Constantinople*, p. 338.

75. *Vacances du lundi*, p. 26.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
78. *L'art moderne*, p. 220.
79. *Loc. cit.*, p. 297.
80. POULAIN, *Traces de l'influence allemande* . . . , p. 43.
81. CHAMPLEURY, *Les Vignettes romantiques*, note to p. 142. Cf. Boschot (*Chez nos poètes*), who brings out and emphasizes Gautier's underlying emotional nature.
82. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 299-306, *passim*.
83. QUINET, *Du Génie de l'art*, p. 140.
84. TÉNINT, *Prosodie de l'Ecole moderne*, p. 214. CANAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-253, calls attention to the importance of Art, as the sole permanent, and thus valuable, object, in the minds of the Parnassians. Their doctrine here is in large measure the development of Gautier's theory and practice, and his importance as a transition-figure between two schools of artistic thought is evident in this case. It is interesting to compare to these ideas of 1835-1850 the analysis which Proust makes, some seventy years later, in regard to the permanent factor in the work of art. *A l'Ombre des jeunes filles en fleur*, II, 122:
 " . . . Mais après tous ces abords empreints de laideur citadine, je ne fis plus attention aux moulures chocolat des plinthes quand je fus dans l'atelier; je me sentis parfaitement heureux car par toutes les études qui étaient autour de moi, je sentais la possibilité de m'élever à une connaissance poétique, féconde en joies, de maintes formes que je n'avais pas isolées jusqu-là du spectacle total de la réalité. Et l'atelier d'Elstir m'apparut comme le laboratoire d'une sorte de nouvelle création du monde, où, du chaos que sont toutes choses que nous voyons, il avait tiré, en les peignant sur divers rectangles de toile, qui étaient posés dans tous les sens, ici une vague de la mer écrasant avec colère sur le sable son écume lilas, là un jeune homme en couteil blanc accoudé sur le pont d'un bateau. Le veston du jeune homme et la vague éclaboussante avaient pris une dignité nouvelle du fait qu'ils continuaient à être, encore que dépourvus de ce en quoi ils passaient pour consister, la vague ne pouvant plus mouiller, ni le veston habiller personne."
85. *Les Arts et le Commerce*, dans les *Œuvres de jeunesse*, I. 5.
86. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 225.
87. *Collection égyptienne de M. Minant*, dans *la Presse* du 19 décembre 1837.
88. Cf. the cancelled lines of the manuscript fragments of *la Femme de Diomède*, *Lovenjou* C-443-301:
 "Le peintre qui trace sur ces fonds pompéiens
 Ces tableaux toujours neufs comme le monde anciens
 Nous montre par sa forme et ses lignes certaines
 Qu'il vient de Sycorie en passant par Athènes."
89. *Trésors d'art de la Russie*, p. 4:
 "On ne saurait s'imaginer quelle idée de force, de puissance et d'éternité expriment dans leur muet langage ces colonnes gigantesques, s'élançant d'un seul jet, et portant sur leurs têtes d'Atlas le poids comparativement léger des frontons et des statues. Elles ont la durée des os de la terre, et semblent ne devoir dissoudre qu'avec elle."
90. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 287.

91. *Constantinople*, p. 187. Cf., also, Gautier's despair at the thought of the destruction of the beautiful, *le Roi Candaule*, pp. 381, 387.
92. *Loin de Paris*, pp. 230, 240.
93. *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 43.
94. *Notice sur Th. Gautier*, dans *les Poètes français* de Crépet, IV, 345. Cf., in Baudelaire's *Art romantique*, p. 208 and others.
95. *De la composition dans la peinture*, *La Presse*, 22 novembre 1836.
96. *L'Art moderne*, p. 237.
97. *Compte-rendu du Désert* de Félicien David, décembre 1844, dans *l'Histoire de l'art dramatique*, III, 315. Gautier says that, more than anyone, "nous admirons cette force persistante de l'idée, ce pouvoir éternel du beau"; *Portraits contemporains*, p. 326.
98. *Tableaux de Siège*, p. 332; cf. *ibid.*, p. 21.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 258. It is interesting to note these examples of a series of expressions of Gautier's personal feelings which appears in the *Tableaux de Siège*; it seems that the poet, shaken from his habitual impassibility by monstrous events, sick at heart as in body, found himself free to show the emotions which he so generally concealed. In his early work, moreover, the author had presented this point of view indirectly. Cf., for example, *Albertus*, strophe xxiii; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, préface et pp. 146, 196.
101. Here, no doubt, the author's pleasure in construction—one of his primary emotions—added its weight. The *arrangement* of theatrical scenes, the *composition* of a ship's rigging, are interesting to him from these two points of view.
102. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 211; cf. Gautier's reproach to the monks of Zurbaran, in *España, Poésies complètes*, II, 152:
"Forme, rayon, couleur, rien n'existe pour vous,
A tout objet réel vous êtes insensibles,
Car le ciel vous enivre et la croix vous rend fous."
The whole question of Gautier's interest in form, colour, etc., the basis of which has been found in sensory pleasure, will be taken up in detail, for its bearing on his literary production, in discussing the author's choice of vocabulary and metaphor.
103. *Op. cit.*, p. 81.
104. *Spirite*, p. 219.
105. *Loin de Paris*, p. 230.
106. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 118, 119.
107. *L'Art Moderne*, p. 156.
108. "Salon de 1837", *La Presse*, 18 mars 1837. It may be noted in this connection that Gautier, who loves formal beauty, despises the *bourgeois* public which hates form and style on account of its own intrinsic mediocrity, and which therefore demands that nothing but the mediocre be offered to it. Cf. *Histoire de l'Art dramatique* . . . , II, 235, 27 avril 1842.
109. *Tableaux de Siège*, p. 142.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 214.
112. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 289.
113. *Histoire du Romantisme*, p. 216.

114. In *Un chef d'œuvre inconnu*, by Balzac. The passage quoted is, in the opinion of Sp. de Lovenjoul, written by Gautier for Balzac; see Lovenjoul, *Autour de Balzac*, pp. 29-30.
115. "Salon de 1837", *La Presse*, 28 avril 1837.
116. *Ibid.*, 24 mars 1837.
117. "Salon de 1836", *Cabinet de lectures*, mars-avril 1836.
118. Dans *la Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1844, 2, xliii, p. 121.
119. Sur "Angelo", *Victor Hugo*, pp. 103, 110.
120. *Du Beau dans l'art*, review of Töpffer's *Réflexions et menus propos d'un peintre genevois*; in *L'Art moderne*, pp. 151-153, *passim*.
121. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 143.
122. Cf. *Henri Regnault*, p. 11:
 "Nous savons mieux que personne toutes les objections qu'on peut faire à l'œuvre de M. Regnault: l'incorrection, l'emphase, la hardiesse exagérée; mais l'artiste a la qualité qui prime toutes les autres: la vie. Il sait animer les figures, faire descendre le rayon sur elles, les envelopper d'une couleur chaude et brillante, leur communiquer sa fougue et les entraîner dans le mouvement de son esprit."
123. *Notice sur Baudelaire*, dans les *Poètes français* de Crépet, IV, 595.
124. *Loin de Paris*, p. 252.
125. Introduction to *Les Dieux et demi-dieux de la peinture*, p. iii.
126. Etude sur Niedermeyer, dans *la Musique*, p. 262 (feuilleton de *la Presse*, du 9 décembre 1844).
127. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
128. *Paris futur*, dans *Le Diable à Paris—Le tiroir du diable*, p. 141.
129. "Salon de 1844", *La Presse*, 3 avril 1844.
130. *De la Composition dans la peinture*, *La Presse*, 22 novembre 1836.
131. "Salon de 1837", *La Presse*, 10 mars 1837.
132. "Salon de 1844", *La Presse*, 3 avril 1844.
133. *Salon de 1847*, p. 199.
134. "Salon de 1845", *La Presse*, 18 mars 1845.
135. A phrase of Gautier's quoted by Feydeau, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 176.
136. *Les Progrès de la poésie* . . .; *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 359.
137. Preface to *Chants et poésie*, by Auguste de Châtillon, October, 1854, quoted by Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres* . . ., II, 74.
138. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs intimes*, pp. 135, 131, 144, 141. A part of these reflections dates from the time of Clésinger's *Femme piquée par un serpent* (1847), according to Feydeau; Gautier could contrast the public acceptance of this piece of plastic art with the revolt against his attempt to portray a similar conception in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, or with the criticism which he received for the expression of his religious ideas in *Une Larme du diable*.
139. *Portraits contemporains*, pp. 418, 427-428.
140. *Poésies complètes*, I, 4.
141. *La Croix de Berny*, II, 81, 91, 151.

THE SENTIMENTS IN GAUTIER'S PRODUCTION

In the production of Théophile Gautier, the sentiments, based on his emotional tendencies and his sensory preferences, reappear as incentives to certain types of work and as delimitants in the choice of general interests to be expressed and the means of expression. Just after the publication of the *Comédie de la mort* and *Fortunio*, the young author's friend, Auguste Maquet, wrote that "aucun n'a emprunté plus que Théophile Gautier à son individualité propre. On peut dire qu'il respire et se produit tout entier dans ses ouvrages . . ." (1). Gautier himself was not sure to just what extent literary production was representative of its author. During his romantic years he hesitated to admit that he might be judged by what he wrote; "on cite quelques vers perfidement isolés, et voici un honnête homme de cœur et de génie proclamé athée et libertin" (2). The preface of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* likewise protests against the use of this means of revelation:

"Il est aussi absurde de dire qu'un homme est un ivrogne parce qu'il décrit une orgie, un débauché parce qu'il raconte une débauche, que de prétendre qu'un homme est vertueux parce qu'il fait un livre de morale; tous les jours on voit le contraire. C'est le personnage qui parle et non l'auteur. . . . A ce compte, il faudrait guillotiner Shakespeare, Corneille et tous les tragiques . . ." (3).

Gautier, however, during his years of writing, recognizes that these early statements were excessive and that the man himself is shown in his works; thus, toward the end of his career, he makes Spirite, that glorification of Carlotta Grisi, confess that she has best known her adorer through his written words:

"Lire un écrivain, c'est se mettre en communication d'âme; un livre n'est-il pas une confidence adressée à un ami idéal? . . . Il ne faut pas toujours prendre au pied de la lettre ce que dit un auteur; on doit faire la part des systèmes philosophiques ou littéraires, des affectations à la mode en ce moment-là, des réticences exigées, du style voulu ou commandé, des imitations admiratives et de tout ce qui peut modifier les formes extérieures d'un écrivain. Mais sous tous ces déguisements, la vraie attitude de l'âme finit par se révéler pour qui sait lire; la sincère pensée est souvent entre les lignes . . ." (4).

So it is admitted that beneath all the disguises of literary end, of mode, of social pressure, the *interests* of the artist appear in his works; their place there, and their relation to technical habits and exterior stimuli, are indeed significant for his individual creative imagination.

Gautier's work as a painter, nevertheless seems to afford little evidence of his particular make-up except in so far as it is testimony, from a very early date, to his love of visual beauty. His godfather recommended, in 1823, that the child's innate talent for drawing be fostered; that, while he received all proper schooling, his especial gift in this direction be never sacrificed (5). In 1829 he was not wholly satisfied with the young artist's accomplishments, although he still found there evidence of a fine talent:

" . . . Enfin votre chef d'œuvre est dans ma chambre et dans la meilleure place que j'ay pu lui donner. Si vous voulez maintenant que j'ajoute mes critiques à mes remerciements, je vous dirai que les couleurs ne sont remarquables; que la pose de l'ange est parfaite, que les deux figures de la sainte et de la Vierge sont bien; qu'il y a seulement quelque chose à dire dans le dessin de l'enfant Jésus, et même dans toute sa personne; qu'il en est peut-être de même de l'expression des deux femmes; mais c'est aussi la partie faible de l'originel. Quoiqu'il en soit, c'est grandement débiter et je vous en félicite de tout mon cœur. Cultivez ce beau talent, qui se trouve chez vous si bien accompagné, et soyez grand peintre, grand poète et grand orateur. Commençons cependant par avoir des prix à l'université . . ." (6).

Boucher has attempted to trace the paintings executed by the young Gautier, and reports upon their sole representative at Mauperthuis, where Gautier spent several summers with his godfather. This painting is a *Saint-Pierre guérissant un paralytique*, and exists, in a very bad state of preservation, in the village church:

" . . . Tel est l'aspect de l'œuvre capitale de Théophile en peinture; si elle ne peut être classée parmi les chefs-d'œuvre, incontestablement elle en vaut beaucoup d'autres, surtout si l'on considère que l'auteur n'avait que 18 ans lorsqu'il l'exécuta . . ." (7).

The drawings which survive do not show a great talent, and are remarkable only for the uniformity of the subject-matter and treatment. In the collection made by the Vicomte de Lovenjoul, there are, for the years from 1830 to 1834: *Arabella*, *Musidora*, *Lauretta*, *Ophélia*, *Ninetta*, *Magdeleine de Maupin*, and many

more similar subjects. To these should be added various later caricatures, two other *Ophélias*, a portrait of Madame Sabatier, etc. (8). In an album of about 1840 there appear two more drawings: one of *Holophernès*, who appears as a young man with curling hair and large plumed hat (in the style of *Magdeleine de Maupin*); the other an *Ophélia* crowned with flowers and half-immersed in the stream; she has the same head which Gautier gives to his various models, and thin, unformed arms; the drawing contains more background than usual: a notation of the bank, of the water, etc. (9). The catalogue made by Bergerat gives similar indications (10), and reproductions of Gautier's portraits of himself (11), of an illustration of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of the pastel of Carlotta Grisi (12), confirm this testimony to a limited type of expression, varying little between the portrait and the imaginative construction, and showing, with only slight originality in thought, a very great similarity in treatment. Champfleury describes Gautier's frontispiece to Houssaye's *Couronne de bluets* (edition of 1836) as "des enroulements de sirènes qui voudraient être charmeuses, détail très affaibli des frontispieces de Nanteuil, (qui) ne peuvent être regardés que comme un essai d'amateur" (13). A criticism of the drawings dispersed in the sale of Bergerat's effects confirms these findings and indicates a further connection between the artist's work and his emotional make-up, in noting a characteristic timidity which must be placed beside a love for regular, formal beauty and a disregard for originality in the work of creation:

" . . . Voici des dessins, esquisses gracieuses, portraits de femmes aux visages réguliers, et qui gardent entre eux, sous la différence des traits, comme un lien de parenté. L'exécution est fine, délicate et comme craintive. Gautier, hardi et coloré dans son style, était un peintre timide, plus préoccupé semble-t-il, d'harmonie que de mouvement, moins soucieux d'expression que d'élégance plastique" (14).

In spite of Gautier's conviction of the value of the art of the painter, for the expression of beauty and for the perpetuation of its creator, he was never wholly absorbed in the practice of a calling where his own accomplishment was so mediocre. In one

of his autobiographies he describes his early interest in poetry, and the exercise which he gave himself in this kind of production :

" . . . Je fus assez bon élève, mais avec des curiosités bizarres, qui ne plaisaient toujours aux professeurs. Je traitais les sujets de vers latins dans tous les mètres imaginables, et je me plaisais à imiter les styles qu'au collège on appelle de décadence. J'étais souvent taxé de barbarie et d'africanisme, et m'en étais charmé comme d'un compliment. . . . J'étudiais les vieux auteurs français, Villon et Rabelais surtout, que j'ai sus par cœur, je dessinais et je m'essayais à faire des vers français; la première pièce dont je me souviens était le *Flewve Scamandre*, inspirée sans doute par le tableau de Lancrenon . . ." (15).

He recounts, also, that poetry had a great influence upon him, and ascribes to the appearance of *les Orientales*, with their combination of visual beauty and poetic form and expression, the choice of vocation which he made toward 1830 :

" Nous qui sommes aujourd'hui journaliste (nous n'osons plus dire poète), nous aurions probablement été peintre, sans un volume de Victor Hugo qui nous tomba dans les mains à l'atelier; c'étaient *les Orientales*! L'effet que nous produisit ce livre étincelant ne peut se rendre. A dater de ce moment, l'illustre maître a eu dans notre existence une place plus grande que nos compagnons les plus chers; nous lui devons les émotions les plus vives que nous avons éprouvées; c'est une si douce chose d'admirer, de se sentir pénétré par une pensée supérieure, d'être l'humble flacon qui contient le nectar, de voir réalisé d'une manière éclatante ce qu'on rêvait confusément " (16).

Gautier has a continuing interest in literary creation, and in 1849 asks for a post as *inspecteur des beaux-arts*, in order that, freed from financial anxiety, he may have time to devote himself " à la poésie et à la haute littérature plus exclusivement, ce qui est le rêve de ma vie " (17). In 1857 he rejoices in Aubryet's pleasure over *Avatar* as a piece of literature; " vous voyez que je ne suis pas si porc que les gazettes veulent bien le dire " (18); and it is in this same year that his love of literature as a means of creating the beautiful is expressed in his famous letter to Sainte-Beuve :

" Oui, nous avons cru, nous avons aimé, nous avons admiré, nous avons été ivres du beau, nous avons eu la sublime folie de l'art! Comme vous le dites si bien, d'après Anacréon, nous portons au cœur la petite marque, et nous saurons bien nous y reconnaître, en quelque oubli que l'époque mette les belles choses pour lesquelles nous nous sommes justement passionnés. Nous n'avons pas à rougir de notre jeunesse. Bleus nous étions, et bleus nous sommes. Le génie lyrique plane au-dessus de notre bataillon décimé en faisant palpiter ses ailes d'or. Nous seuls encore en France savons faire des vers!

" . . . Si j'avais possédé la moindre fortune personnelle, je me serais livré uniquement à l'amour du vert laurier: mais, dans la prose où je suis tombé, j'ai toujours défendu les intérêts de l'art et proclamé à toute voix le nom des maîtres sacrés "(19).

His defense of the masters and his own contribution to beauty must be sought in his literary work, and there Gautier's creative imagination, in so far as determined and defined by his especial hierarchy of sentiments, is to be distinguished.

The interests of Théophile Gautier appear transformed into literature primarily in the general *atmosphere* which he chooses for his work, and this background of his original (non-critical) production, with its development in plot or supplementary episode, etc., may be classified in several quite distinct divisions. In each of these a part of his main sentiments, with their relative power or weakness, is reflected, and their determinative influence on his production is thus made clear. A survey of the author's poetic and fictitious composition shows it as containing the following basic atmospheres: the romantic (including the fantastic), the satiric, the grotesque, the exotic, and the plastic. Even in the critical work, where a stated subject partially determines the production, one of these general tones is usually predominant, and the total impression given by this body of writing is not far different from that of the original work.

The romantic atmosphere characteristic of a fairly large part of Gautier's production may be classified as traditionally romantic, as pessimistic, and as fantastic. Into the first of these subdivisions falls the major portion of his earliest work, where the typical attitude of the first romantic generation is largely reflected. Gautier's view of nature, his relations with his contemporaries, his estimate of the place of the poet, present many points of contact with the tradition of the time. In the literary theory advanced during these early years, for example, the young author follows very closely upon the dicta of Hugo in his considerations of the liberty of the author, the function of criticism, the employment of the various *genres*, etc. (20). Albertus is the typical romantic hero, melancholy, desirous of love and of beauty, interested in foreign literatures and devoted to the arts in gen-

eral; d'Albert follows him in many of these traits and develops even further certain romantic characters. The life of the group of young artists is described by a participant (21); a solitary existence, far from the pursuits of the *bourgeois*, engrossed in aristocratic preoccupations, is advocated by him (22). Gautier, like his recent predecessors, takes an especial interest in the Middle Ages, in Gothic ruins, etc. (23). Even his attitude toward nature follows for a certain length of time that of his great models, when he sees in it a consolation to men, or the reflection and intensification of their moods (24). His interest in love is likewise romantic during a number of years (25). These various themes are comparatively short-lived, and reappear only rarely in the work after 1840; the general romantic atmosphere of the early composition cedes to the expression of other preoccupations. There is one phase of this traditional attitude, however, the pessimistic, which is less transitory, and a general underlying theme of melancholy persists through the course of Gautier's literary production. Before 1840 the ordinary view-point of the Romanticists is quite evident: the poet rejoices in his sadness, in

"Ces attendrissements, ces soupirs et ces larmes
Sans cause, qu'on voudrait, mais en vain, réprimer,
Cette vague langueur et ce doux mal d'aimer
Pour un objet chéri ces mortelles alarmes" (26).

Somewhat later this feeling is transferred by the author from himself to the objects which he surveys (27). *La Comédie de la Mort* and other poems published with it in 1838 are full of Gautier's pessimistic preoccupations, many of the thoughts of death which recur constantly in his work have already been noted (28). The horrors of physical corruption are very vivid to him (29), and the different ways of meeting death, the aspects of the burial-grounds which he comes upon, reappear constantly in his work and create there an undercurrent of terror and hopelessness. The *Roman de la Momie* denotes the fascination of sepulture; *Mademoiselle Dafné* is based on a theme of despair taken from Piranesi; and in the *Deux Etoiles*, where Gautier was working at high speed, with the *Aufgabe* of the *feuilletoniste* composing against time and in the interests of a specific

public, he yet found occasion to insert a long description of a melancholy marriage-service, with its impression of dreariness and horror significant of the fate of the participants :

"Ceux-ci entrèrent dans la noire église, et la cérémonie s'acheva au son des rafales qui faisaient battre les portes et gémissaient dans les nefs encombrées d'ombre; le brouillard se résolvait en pluie, et de larges gouttes chassées par le vent cinglaient les vitres jaunies des grandes vitrines protestantes.

"Une lueur blafarde éteinte à chaque instant par les tourbillons de la tempête éclairait de reflets sinistres les fiancés, le prêtre et les assistants. Le surplus prenait des aspects de suaire et le ministre des lividités de spectre ou de nécroman faisant une conjuration. Les gestes sacrés ressemblaient à des signes cabalistiques, les époux inclinés paraissaient plutôt prier sur des tombes que se pencher, heureux et ravis, sous la bénédiction nuptiale.

"Près de la porte, au loin, l'on entrevoyait une ombre blanche entourée d'habits noirs et qu'on eût dit fixée au seuil de l'église par une puissance infernale, âme malheureuse qu'un ange repousse du paradis.

"Un sentiment de tristesse invincible s'était emparé de l'assistance: une vague idée de malheur secouait ses ailes de chauve-souris sur tous les fronts; un froid glacial, pénétrant, qui figeait la moelle dans les os, froid de cave, de sépulcre ou de prison, transissait les invités et ajoutait à l'impression pénible. Les moins superstitieux, malgré leur incrédulité, ne purent s'empêcher de dire en eux-mêmes: Voilà un mariage qui ne s'annonce guère bien . . ." (31).

The fantastic atmosphere is very evident in the work of Gautier, and it, also, is in part a romantic legacy which the author has taken over and which he develops, making the unusual, mentally or physically, a constant background in his writing. In 1835 Victor Hugo pointed out this characteristic of the young author's production :

" . . . En toutes choses, il cherche le côté choisi, élégant, spirituel, paradoxal, singulier, quelquefois étrange, la face aperçue de peu de regards. Il incline au fantastique, mais au fantastique lumineux, en relief, en ronde-bosse, au fantastique rabelaisien, au fantastique de l'ancienne comédie italienne, et non au fantastique allemand; plutôt vers Callot que vers Hoffmann " (32).

Poulain and other critics have noted the long succession of fantastic tales included in Gautier's work, from *la Cafetière* of 1831 to *Spirite* in 1865 (33), and even in addition to this part of his composition, the fantastic atmosphere is evident. The author seems to take pleasure in the fabulous side of his legend of *l'Enfant aux souliers de pain*; the *Pavillon sur l'eau* is full of the dreams and fantastic reflections and traditions of China. Indeed, the poet has here taken pains to carry over from one of his sources passages which contain references to the supernatural,

and which he wishes to incorporate in his own work (34). During his actual travels, also, Gautier takes note of and records the local superstitions with which he comes in contact—the evil eye, of which he will make the subject for an original tale, is discoursed upon in 1840, in the *Voyage en Espagne*—and here again an atmosphere of phantasy is introduced into his now more serious work. In his *compte-rendu* of *la Péri*, its author describes the fundamental conception of his ballet, which rests upon the *mystery* of a possible union of mind and spirit during the ecstasy of dreaming, when all carnal chains are loosed and the invisible world is revealed (35). *Mademoiselle Dafné* recounts the hallucinations of Lothario's fevered brain (36). The stories of ancient times which are not basically fantastic yet contain many references to magic, to superstitions, to the mysterious workings of fate, and an atmosphere of the extraordinary is prevalent even here (37). It is possible, indeed, in Gautier's production, to distinguish between various types of fanciful conceptions. The fairylike, after the manner of Nodier's *Trilby*, is of rather short duration, but may be noted particularly in his verses (in addition to such tales as *la Cafetière* and *le Chevalier double*, etc.). The whole point of view of "Enfantillage," for example, is of this order (38); the "Chant du grillon" and *l'Ame de la maison* present modifications of the same idea; the conception of doves as representative of mysteriously winged thoughts recurs in prose and poetry (39). The siren of "Cærulei oculi" enters into this same category of ideas (40), and the living portraits of *la Cafetière* and *Omphale* are continued in the "Château du souvenir" and in *le Capitaine Fracasse* (41), but these are rather solitary survivors of the author's early preoccupation. The fantastically horrible is of more lasting occurrence, beginning with youthful reminiscences of *Smarra* (42), and continuing its appearance in various tales, and in travel-records. Gautier's description of the dance of the dervishes is vivid in its terrifying fancy (43). Indeed, the treatment of these two forms of the fantastic, in addition to the author's constant preoccupation with the mysterious and the supernatural in all their manifestations, com-

poses a background for a large part of Gautier's literary production and determines, in less unified pieces, the inclusion of innumerable episodic developments.

The connection between romantic atmosphere in Gautier's writing and his personal hierarchy of sentiments is not far to seek. Traditional romanticism, aside from interest in the fantastic and in melancholy reflection, is of fairly short duration in his composition, and this is rather to be expected, for it appears as a manifestation of the least important phases of his sentiment of self-regard. This type of subject-matter does not lend itself to perpetuation: it is too individual, too extreme, to become a part of the truly permanent and enduring. It is concerned, rather, with the expressions of a desire for originality and of a desire to create. The whole romantic opposition to usual forms of expression was shown by the attitude of Victor Hugo's disciples at the time of *Hernani*. Eccentricity differentiated the aristocratic Jeune-France from his stolid *bourgeois* opponent. Gautier, by participation in this movement, could satisfy what to him was a rather passing desire: his need of originality. So, too, the new *genres*, the new versification, the new subject-matter, presented a diverse framework within which the young writer could exercise his talents, and his desire for production or construction as such received ample play. Neither of these drives to action was, however, of primary importance among Gautier's characteristic tendencies. His nihilism, based upon his fear both of life and of death, was more far-reaching in its emotional foundations and determined a more lasting expression: Gautier's literary pessimism, while in part of the romantic tradition, is more than an effort to differentiate himself from his fellows, and depends, for its long participation in the characteristic atmospheres of his work, on a sound basis of well-organized sentiment. The case is similar for the fantastic. Here again, as in other phases of his traditional romanticism, the poet can distinguish himself from the mass of *bourgeois*, can place himself in the midst of a picked group of artists by adequate treatment of fairylike or *frénétiques* themes; his interest in production can be stimulated and satisfied

by the variety of forms in which the fantastic may be expressed. The philosophical sentiment, however, lends its additional weight to the choice of these types of atmosphere, and particularly to the selection of the mysterious as a fundamental literary tone. The author's inclination to fearfulness can be expressed in a form to which no reproach will attach; his feeling of the horror and worthlessness of much of the universe will cause an extension of literary interest to the more terrifying phenomena of existence; and his respect for all manifestations of extraordinary power will lead to a constant emphasis on the mysterious and on the supernatural. Even the æsthetic sentiment is not without its bearing on Gautier's use of this atmosphere, for the attempt to express a phase of the beautiful beyond ordinary conceptions, of superhuman or fantastic origin, is surely a legitimate exercise for a lover of absolute beauty.

Gautier's interest in the fantastic is closely linked, in its *frénétiques* manifestations, to his preoccupation with the grotesque. The occurrence of this atmosphere in his literary work is perhaps more limited than that of the romantic in all its phases; it is no less evident, however, as a characteristic feature of the author's production. In various tales a grotesque element plays a part—as in the *Pied de la Momie*, or in the prologue of the *Roman de la momie* of many years later; other compositions show dependence on this atmosphere for the choice of developing incident or episode (44); *le Capitaine Fracasse* contains a spirit of burlesque which is in the same vein, for here, in the underlying conception, in the personages and in the minor incidents, there is present an inclination to the grotesque which does not reach the horrible or the deformed. This atmosphere, however, is supplemented at times by a more sombre manifestation (just as the fantastic may be noted in *frénétique* as well as in fairy-like expression), and especially in his early work Gautier favours certain representations of monstrosities, mental or physical (45). In the *Voyages* he shows an interest in the grotesque of both traditional varieties, and notes particularly its occurrence in the scenes which he recounts. Nevertheless, while the author records

this element in life, he does not do so from a wholly romantic point of view; his interest in the grotesque is not determined solely by its contrasting enhancement of the beautiful, but seems, rather, autonomous: the grotesque gives him a certain intrinsic æsthetic pleasure which demands perpetuation in the atmosphere of his works of art. In his preface to the *Aventures du Baron de Münchhausen*, Gautier writes of the "harmony of the false" in these most monstrously extravagant inventions, and in various other articles he speaks of a certain beauty in enormities of one kind or another; Ribera's *Prométhée en proie au vautour* "est d'une beauté monstrueuse et formidable qui fait horreur et stupéfaction . . ." (46).

The connection between Gautier's major sentiments and this expression of his creative imagination is not self-evident, but it seems possible to see how, in some measure, the author's ideal of the beautiful (which is the principal determinant of his production) would yet allow of the introduction of grotesque atmosphere in his work. Larsson, in his study of *la Logique de la poésie*, refers to the relation between poetry and the ugly or the less-beautiful as one of the fundamental questions of æsthetics:

" . . . Mon opinion sur ce point est la suivante: l'émotion de l'artiste, telle qu'il l'incorpore à son œuvre, doit toujours être belle, mais il n'est pas nécessaire que ce qu'il décrit soit beau . . . L'œuvre de l'art n'est pas seulement un objet, mais aussi un sujet, un œil qui se reflète ce qui a été vu. . . . C'est le sujet, son âme, son émotion, sa façon de voir qui doivent posséder de la beauté et en répandre. Cette condition est indispensable . . ." (47).

Gautier's point of view in this matter seems similar to that of the later theorist: in so far as the work of art was one, harmonious, by its presentation, it was possessed of beauty, and in so far as the artist could himself perceive and reproduce a natural phenomenon made harmonious through his manner of regarding it, the grotesque might possess its own æsthetic value. In various ways, indeed,—some æsthetic, some extra-æsthetic,—the grotesque as atmosphere could appear valuable to an author with his equipment and organization of emotional tendencies. Just as he, who was bound by the fear of death, noted all its manifestations and consequences and made this preoccupation the background

for a large part of his work, so the artist who loved and wished to perpetuate the beautiful was, to a certain extent, fascinated by the actual appearance of ugliness in his environment, and might, by his inherent power of construction, by his habit of perceiving the beautiful wherever possible, be incited to compose, in this manifestation which preoccupied him and troubled him, a certain type of beauty characteristic of his own point of view. In minor ways, also, the grotesque as such had value to him: it was, in the first place, a strictly non-utilitarian product, of which the only interest was in itself (or in its emphasis of similarly non-utilitarian beauty). In this phase, it has connections with the author's idea of a beauty which exists for itself, which forms its own superior end; the "*repoussoir*" may acquire a certain similar interest by association, and thus receive the sanction of Gautier's æsthetic sentiment. Again, the grotesque in existence is linked with singular frequency to the plastic, and so enters once more into the benefits of the author's ideal. The grotesque and the Gothic, the grotesque and the Egyptian, are often concomitant, and a transfer of interest from one to the other is not unnatural. Finally, the grotesque offers a certain inducement for use as atmosphere or incident to the artist who is interested in technical accomplishment. Larsson, in the passage quoted, writes of the additional æsthetic feeling which is engendered by the writer's transformation of the discords of the ugly into a product subjectively beautiful. Gautier praises Ribera for his accomplishment in making horror lovely, and his own "*Etude des mains*" shows his interest in a beautiful figuration of two objects, of which one gives pleasure, the other displeasure, in actual appearance (48). The "*bloc résistant*," when conquered, adds a further worth to the work of art made from it. This interest is largely extra-æsthetic in origin: pleasure of construction and enhancement of self-esteem through victory over difficulty both play their parts in it. In Gautier, however, these non-æsthetic factors are in some sense subsumed, taken over, in his sentiment of love for beauty, which exacts, in its final definition of the beautiful, a product which shall be perfect and of which a part of the perfec-

tion is its creation from the resistant and so durable. The atmosphere of the grotesque, thus, is not incompatible with the author's major sentiments, and indeed is to some extent fostered by the ideals around which they centre.

The satiric, again, is a minor atmosphere in the total volume of Gautier's writings; it is none the less a distinct manifestation. Even in the author's earliest work, where his inclination to traditional romanticism was strongest, he did not accept all its tenets with whole-hearted admiration; the *Jeunes-France* are indeed treated in satirical vein, and the exaggerations of their literary school are mocked at by the young Gautier as well as by Alfred de Musset. The same satiric spirit is present in the preface to *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, and in the novel itself even the Romanticist cannot take himself wholly seriously. The *Contes humoristiques* again give evidence of Gautier's fund of raillery, and in *Fortunio* he ridicules various institutions existing in the world around him. Even as late as the *Roman de la Momie*, this atmosphere enters into the author's production: the differing intentness of Lord Evandale and of Dr. Rumphius, in the pursuit of their archæological researches, receives its share of mockery. In almost all of Gautier's dramatic writing, this background of light satire is prevalent, while a certain number of compositions betray a more serious preoccupation, where the poet takes to task contemporary pride and ridicules the idea that modern achievements surpass, or even equal, the triumphs of the past in art, in thought, in general civilization (49). In *Une Larme du diable*, Gautier's intention is recognized as that of satirizing the tendency of the moment toward the creation of a facile philosophy of history on the model of *Ahasvérus* (50). Poulain points out the author's understanding of Heine's satiric spirit, and sees its cause in his nature:

" . . . Loin de prendre en mauvaise part la manière digressive de Heine. . . . il goûta ses pages (des *Reisebilder*) où la sensibilité s'efface entièrement pour faire place à l'ironie, élément que nous retrouvons chez lui dans la plupart de ses nouvelles . . ." (51).

This element of irony was employed particularly by Gautier in his treatment of the *bourgeois* who prided himself on his knowl-

edge and love of art. The *Portrait de Madame Jabulot*, the *Monographie d'un bourgeois parisien*, are full of his satire on the lack of artistic appreciation in the great public (52). So, also, Gautier decried certain forms of art, and as he had satirized the artist in his *Jeunes-France*, so again he ridicules artistic exaggeration in his "*Macédoine de poètes*":

" . . . Là est le défaut capital du livre (le *Livre de Sang*) : à force de vouloir prouver, on ne prouve rien . . . D'ailleurs, une pareille violence de langage n'est plus du domaine de l'art et de la poésie . . . Je ne demande pas des euphémismes et des concetti à propos de noyades et de tueries . . . mais il est cependant une limite que l'on ne saurait dépasser, il est de certaines choses qui appartiennent au bourreau, et que le poète ne doit pas lui prendre. La muse ne peut pas fouiller avec ses mains blanches dans le panier rouge de Samson . . ." (53).

On the whole, however, he respects, as critic, all honest effort in the arts, and in spite of his disposition to satire in his literary productions he feels in 1836 that it is an attitude which has no true place in criticism; this point of view continues throughout his life:

" Nous avons passé sous silence une foule de calembours de bronze, de rébus de pierre, de coqs-à l'âne en plâtre, parce que nous aimons plus à louer qu'à blâmer. On y perd en piquant, et les articles sont d'un goût moins haut: mais quand je pense que de pauvres diables ont passé six mois de leur vie autour d'un spectre de terre glaise pour tâcher de lui donner la vie et de lui appliquer à la poitrine le flambeau de Prométhée; qu'ils ont eu froid et chaud; qu'ils ont dépensé l'argent qu'ils n'avaient pas en modèles, en moulage, en praticiens, devant tout ce dévouement obscur et sans fruit le sarcasme expire sur mes lèvres et j'aime mieux ne rien dire . . ." (54).

These particular appearances of the satiric atmosphere are indicative of the place of Gautier's sentiments in the determination of his work. In the beginning it seems that he, like the young Musset, desires originality in the very midst of the new romantic school, and this can be attained by the ridiculing of some of its favourite manifestations; the slight deviation from the normal attitude will indicate a relative independence of view-point. The object of Gautier's satire, however, becomes more and more consistently that which is in opposition to the beautiful: whether it be modern tendencies in production which derogate from the ancient and beautiful model, whether it be an exaggeration of certain traits or forms which destroys the harmony of the work

of art and makes it individual, curious, interesting to one generation, rather than typical and eternally lovely. Everything which works against an absolute beauty by limiting duration or application is ground for his ridicule, and here Gautier's æsthetic sentiment is at the basis of his literary atmosphere. His philosophical point of view has a similar bearing, and he asks why one should strive so earnestly for the eminently worthless. His satire is not bitter: the element of anger is slight in his disposition, but it is, with its bases in æsthetic and philosophical sentiments, a fairly constant factor in his literary production.

Gautier's interest in the exotic, his use of the distant in time or space as subject for the original work, as incident or metaphor in the upbuilding of his critical writing, his departure from the facts of ordinary, contemporary existence, have been pointed out by his commentators from the days of *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* to the present time. He seems to have had little preference for the geographically distant, as against the chronologically remote; the atmosphere which combined these two qualities of the exotic was that which he most favoured. It is hardly necessary to list the stories whose whole background is that of a civilization quite foreign to Gautier's own. Greece and Egypt, Spain and the Northern countries, Italy, India, China, find one or more representations in fiction, and the country of the poet also was frequently transported in time and space. In various tales or poems where the entire foundation is in the author's own world, his especial exotic interest is yet introduced in minor incidents or personages (55). Gautier is said to have loved Russia on account of its resemblance to Egypt: snow and sand (56); he enjoyed the representations of *Murat* because it took him into the Egyptian landscape and was "de l'Orient tout pur!" (57). His first effort at the figuration of the East in his literary production dates from 1831 (58). Again, Champfleury notes that, unlike other Romanticists, Gautier was willing to go outside of his century even in France in order to find a base for his stories and to glean literary style (59). The author's *pastiches* of the 18th century are indeed evidence of this phase of his interest in

the past. It is, however, for true antiquity that Gautier had "une passion qui tenait au fétichisme" (60), and it is distinctly pagan antiquity which most fascinated him. Christian ideals, the legends which embody them, have little place in his writing, and in those stories of which the atmosphere, through age and location, might possibly offer Christian exoticism, the religious element is almost wholly lacking. *Militona* depends in no sense on the Catholicism of Spain; *le Roman de la Momie* remains in the framework of the Old Testament. On the whole, it is classic antiquity (and by extension the pagan Egypt with its great monuments and the placidity of the desert) which occupies the most important place in Gautier's exotic backgrounds. Marcel Schwob, in his preface to the *Chaîne d'or*, wonders why Gautier became interested in retelling this old Greek story (61), and the same question might be asked of an extensive list of classic subjects and episodes. Even in *les Deux Etoiles*, the description of the artistocratic English protagonists is given in terms of Greek marble and classic statues (62), and, as against the Gothic—traditional romantic subject for exotic writing—Gautier still praises the classic:

"Reviens, reviens bel art antique,
De ton paros étincelant
Couvrir ce squelette gothique;
Dévore-le, bûcher brûlant!" (63).

The exotic atmosphere, in its general appearance and in its specific or favoured manifestations, is dependent on Gautier's organization of sentiments. The preoccupation is, in the first instance, a romantic tradition which was acceptable to the author, and capable of development by him, on account of its coincidence with his personal interests. Gautier notes the stimulus which he received toward the choice of this subject-matter from *les Orientales* and from romantic painting as represented by Decamps, Marilhat and Delacroix (64). This field of the rich, the highly-coloured, the extravagant and unusual, harmonized well with the young writer's desires for originality, with his efforts for self-enhancement through the extraordinary. The result of this union

between sentiment and literary product made for improvement in the latter, according to the comment of the times:

"Il est aisé de voir, à la lecture d'une *Nuit de Cléopâtre*, que les pompes sensuelles d'Alexandrie vont mieux à l'imagination de M. Gautier, que les austères douleurs du moine catholique, esquissées dans *la Morte amoureuse* . . . Au moins, l'inspiration qui a dicté cette fantaisie, est sincère . . ." (65).

Gautier, himself, in a study devoted to the actuality of Gavarni's work, praises the unusual quality of a mind which can see more plainly in the present than in the past (66), and finds that most writers, in order to have any individuality, must escape from the weight of the present and liberate themselves by excursions into the distant (67). There only, in some particular field, is it possible to live in such a manner that their specific tendencies may be satisfied:

"On n'est pas toujours du pays qui vous a vu naître, et, alors, on cherche à travers tout sa vraie patrie; ceux qui sont faits de la sorte se sentent exilés dans leur ville, étrangers dans leurs foyers, et tourmentés de nostalgies inverses. C'est une bizarre maladie: on est comme des oiseaux de passage encagés. Quand arrive le temps de départ, de grands désirs vous agitent, et vous êtes pris d'inquiétudes en voyant les nuages qui vont du côté de la lumière . . . Moi, je suis Turc, non de Constantinople, mais d'Egypte. Il me semble que j'ai vécu en Orient; et, lorsque, pendant le carnaval, je me déguise avec quelque cafetan et quelque tarbouch authentique, je crois reprendre mes vrais habits . . ." (68).

According to Luitz, Gautier's interest in the exotic is based primarily on this desire for release on the part of the non-civilized man oppressed by society:

"Diese Vorliebe für die couleur locale ist ein Zug des Romantismus, der sich danach bei ihm erhalten hat, und er hat diesen Zug bewahrt bis ans Ende seines Lebens. Aber diese Vorliebe für die couleur locale ist mehr ein Erlebnis des Nicht-Zivilisierten, als ein unmittelbares Schönheits-erlebnis . . ." (69).

It seems doubtful that the critic is wholly correct in this statement, for Gautier's exoticism is by no means only an absence of civilization. It is true that Greece and Egypt present a life of comparative primitiveness, in the view of the 19th century, but it is precisely their elements of a higher civilization, those which go beyond the detail to the essential, to beauty itself, that incite Gautier's interest in these times. It must be admitted that he finds there an escape from the complications of his own material

existence, but this is due to their distance, to their actual removal in time or space from the sphere of his activity, rather than to an intrinsic lack of restraint in their social organization. The author was fearful by nature; he was oppressed by the many obligations which bore upon him and by the anticipation of unpleasant consequences from the real activity upon which he might enter, or from the publication of literary reactions to the society which surrounded him. An exotic atmosphere in his work was thus a release, an easing of responsibilities, a safeguard against present trouble. In this sense the choice of exoticism is based upon certain personal emotional characters of the author, though even here it is not the uncivilized as such which Gautier seeks in the distant. Moreover, he does find there a true "experience of Beauty," as Luitz puts it. The exotic, in its different geographical and historical connections, gives him an occasion to represent many facets of the beautiful which, in accordance with his æsthetic desires, he wished to incorporate in his work and to make plain to men. The beauty of distant ages was permanent, enduring even in modern transposition: its translator might live with it. If beauty could be found in far-separated localities, it was possessed of certain universal characters, and thus, while it offered the attraction of new phases, it maintained a quality of absoluteness prized by Gautier in the very definition of the beauty about which his æsthetic sentiment was organized. Exoticism as a general atmosphere in literary production had certain definite connections with Gautier's individuality.

In the specific epochs and countries of the author's exotic backgrounds there is still further elucidation of the rôle played by his emotional tendencies in the development of a romantic legacy. Claretie sees in Gautier's impassibility a cause for his unusual interest in the 18th century, and to this should be added, perhaps, his amusement in construction:

"Pour le reste tout se passe en agréables descriptions de décors, de types, de scènes, en jeux d'esprit, pastiches et galants marivaudages; tous ces personnages pratiquent, comme leur auteur, le *nil admirari* . . .

"Cette affinité secrète entre l'époque et l'homme explique le goût très vif de Th. Gautier pour le XVIII^e siècle qu'il a étudié à fond et qu'il connaît à miracle" (70).

With regard to the Gothic, also, Gautier's point of view was from the beginning rather different from that of the traditional Romanticist. He wrote freely, after the model of *la Bande noire*, against the desecrators of the beauty of France, but his regret was of æsthetic, rather than of patriotic, foundation. In the poetic admiration of the Gothic he found, indeed, an opportunity for technical exercise as well as an occasion to display his aloofness from the *bourgeois*, but his pleasure in construction, in originality, could be quite as amply stimulated by different forms of exoticism which, on the other hand, offered satisfaction to more deep-rooted tendencies of his nature. Gautier's choice of pagan antiquity, of the Orient, is not dependent solely on reaction to the romantic preoccupation with the Gothic, although in this selection of subject-matter his desire for originality receives adequate fulfilment. It has other positive bases. In the first place, classic art is calm, reposed, in contrast to the convulsions of fear, the tortured line, which are characteristic of the Gothic, and in this trait antiquity presented the tranquillity so much desired by Gautier and favoured, thus, certain emotional tendencies. Again, the classic is even further removed from the present than is the Gothic, to which religious and national characters of the France of 1840 had certain definite connections: this additional distance again might well offer an inducement to representation for the Gautier who feared, disliked and held in contempt all that was contemporary to him. In relation to this cause for the selection of the classic, stands its distinction from the Gothic in its lack of extra-æsthetic preoccupation. Classic art, the days of Greece and ancient Egypt, could be figured without any utilitarian or moral purpose, for they were themselves autonomous, everlasting in their intrinsic beauty. The Gothic, on the other hand, a product of Christianity, is not content with beauty as its end; it is an art of expression, with moral preoccupations at its base, with an intent to impress upon men the ugliness of existence, the inevitableness of death, the redemption of the lost only through union with God. The classic, with its avoidance of these non-æsthetic interests, was far more nearly in accord with Gautier's ideal of

beauty. It, too, surpassed the Gothic in that it not only sanctioned but also glorified beauty in its incarnation in the human form. Christian ideals, and their Gothic typification, combated this relegation of a mystic and divine beauty to material representation. To Gautier, on the contrary, the human form approached most nearly absolute Beauty. The various emotions organized in his æsthetic sentiment tended, therefore, toward the favouring of classic rather than Gothic expression, and the choice of this exotic atmosphere for figuration in his work is characteristic of the author's disposition. So his response to the Strasbourg Cathedral, after he had seen the plastic beauties of Greece, is typical of this connection between Gautier's personal life and his work:

"Autrefois, nous professons un vif enthousiasme à l'endroit des cathédrales, enthousiasme qui s'est changé en admiration douloureuse depuis que nous avons vu sur le trépied de marbre de l'Acropole les purs chefs-d'œuvre du génie grec dorés par le soleil de l'Attique; quel aspect sinistre présentent les hauts murs de grès rouge . . . ; avec quel effort haletant . . . la flèche se dresse vers le ciel . . . ; quelle tristesse glaciale, quelle ombre noire sous les ogives du cloître!

"Jamais nous n'avions senti à ce point l'intime souffrance, le désespoir secret et l'idéal nostalgique du moyen âge . . . Pauvres vierges folles du portail . . . votre grâce morte et vos coquetteries d'outre-tombe attristent plus qu'elles ne séduisent, et vos lampes renversées vous donnent l'air de génies funèbres à la porte des cimetières.

"Comme ceux qui ont élevé de pareils édifices devaient être malheureux! Quelle vie horrible, convulsée de terreurs, hantée de fantômes, suppose cette architecture sépulcrale! . . . Et qu'il y a loin de là à la lumineuse sérénité grecque et aux temples blancs des bienheureux Olympiens . . ." (71).

Gautier's attention to classic exoticism is, indeed, a part of his preoccupation with plastic art. It is likewise one manifestation of the plastic atmosphere so characteristic of his production. It is this whole general background of external beauty which has been obvious to almost all the critics of Gautier's literary production. Küchler has devoted a recent, long study to the author's artistic personality and creation, and Luitz, in his work on the æsthetics of Gautier, has indicated at many points the atmosphere of plastic art which pervades his written work: the references to painting and sculpture, the figures of speech drawn from these arts, etc., etc. Even in the author's early writing there is

evidence of this preoccupation with visual beauty. *Mademoiselle de Maupin* contains its Gothic castle; its protagonists appear as figures of flesh and blood, actually *regarded* by their historian. The later novels develop this exterior interest enormously. *Partie Carrée* unrolls a series of pictures, Capitaine Fracasse moves among varying scenes, the *Roman de la Momie* is a true "roman à cadre," in which the main interest lies in its visual representations and reconstructions. Gautier enjoys describing pictures, in his original work as well as in his *Salons*; the painters whom he loves recur as names inciting to great visions, and the author rejoices in their work,

"Mille objets, bons à rien, admirables à voir" (72).

In the *Toison d'or* he presents a scene to his readers by asking them to paint it in their minds; *Emaux et Camées* offers its "Poème de la femme—marbre de Paros" (73). His whole development of literary pieces frequently shows a similar procedure, and it is the visual detail which Gautier oftentimes selects for the characterizing of an effect, or for use as descriptive metaphor. In the "Chant du grillon" he writes of "la fumée, en filet d'albâtre," of "la flamme aux pieds d'argent" (74). The *Voyages* present a similar general atmosphere, and here the traveller's absorption with the visual becomes a matter of amusement among his friends. His ideal imaginary construction of *Paris futur* has been found to depend largely on its architecture, on a beauty of form and colour, for its Utopian character, and Gautier indeed sometimes laments half-seriously the innumerable cathedrals, pictures, statues, works of art of all varieties which he has been led, by his interest, to attempt to introduce into his work. In the *Roi Candaule* the author speaks frequently of antique beauty, and here again is preoccupied with art; in *Arria Marcella* he expresses his interest in the beauty of form, and the whole development here is really based on the thought of the imperishable beauty of the plastic (76). The plastic qualities of the human form have, in truth, a very large part in the creation of the author's characteristic atmosphere:

"En plusieurs occasions, soit en vers, soit en prose, il reparle de cette énigmatique figure androgyne qui le préoccupait manifestement, et où il voyait un type complet de la Beauté, non pas restreinte et spéciale à un individu et à un sexe . . . mais affranchie de toute relativité, idéale, dans le sens platonicien du mot. Il croyait y rencontrer l'incarnation aussi parfaite que possible du principe abstrait dont l'amour fut le but, la joie et le tourment de son existence" (77).

The connection is obvious between the plastic atmosphere of Gautier's work and his hierarchy of sentiments. A love for beauty, of which the definition includes qualities of plastic form, which possesses permanence through the transformation of durable matter into a beautiful object at the hands of an artist, inclines him who experiences it, in so far as he tends to action and expression, to create similar phases of the beautiful. In so far as the author's presentation of beauty can remain plastic, moreover, it will be in accordance with his tendency to nihilism: to emphasis on the exterior whose inner substance is of little worth. "A défaut de la suavité du parfum, il cherchait l'élégance du vase" (78), and twenty years after this self-expression in the ideas of Tiburce, Gautier still felt that

". . . Si le verre a le profil divin,
Le parfum envolé, reste la cassolette" (79).

The author who creates an atmosphere of plastic beauty in his work will share in some of the benefits of this permanent worth; he will avoid the personal dangers of direct expression of opinions or preferences; he will put his effort into something which cannot change, which will not perish, by which, thus, he cannot be disappointed. An atmosphere of plastic beauty will protect Gautier from the dangers he most fears and will give positive satisfaction to his desires to create beauty.

Gautier's sentiments and their determinative influence on his work are made evident in his choice of protagonists as well as in the atmospheres which prevail in his literary production. The characters who move in his stories are not varied: Gautier himself in various guises, certain figures from the society which surrounded him, a number of stock types, constitute the great body of his creatures. D'Albert in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, Albertus himself, Fortunio the Oriental, Tiburce lover of pictorial beauty,

Pharoah the impassible, Guy de Malivert, seeker of peace and consolation—all represent their historian in certain phases and developments of his personality (80). The Jeunes-France are his friends, he addresses his early poems to various companions of the rue du Doyenné, and their feelings and thoughts form his subject-matter (81). His hero is almost constantly of this romantic type, young, eccentric in some particular, absorbed in the search for love and beauty. The personages whom he transports from Lydia, from Greece, from Egypt, all have a number of fundamental traits in common, and these traits are those of Gautier's day as well as of ancient times. The author distinguishes certain typical characteristics and perpetuates these in his work. The women of whom he gives such charming pictures are little more than plastic representations, and here again the same figure endures from antiquity to contemporary society; her main value is her beauty, and she has little character-interest after the days of Madeleine de Maupin are past.

In so far as Gautier presents himself as a central personage in his writings, he acts in accordance with one of the most fundamental traits of man: the desire to express oneself in various situations, real or imaginary. Dessoir points out in this the link between the actions of the child and the creative imagination of the poet:

"Als das Ursprüngliche behaupten wir dennoch die Freude an der Umwandlung, an der Loslösung, und nicht den Wunsch, fremde Menschen zu durchschauen" (82).

To express oneself, to act in varying situations and to do this by means of a perpetuating creation: these are manifestations of the desire for glory, for originality through production, for permanence; to come to know and understand other men and then to transmute them into art, is to act in accordance with a spirit of curiosity or research as well as with the desire to create. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Gautier among the Romanticists who depend upon themselves and their personal connections for the creatures who shall convey their thoughts or ideals to a public, for by disposition he is inclined to self-expression and self-

perpetuation far more than to investigation and representation of others. The very repetition of traits through the whole span of his writing demonstrates, again, the comparative weakness of Gautier's curiosity, the predominant worth, in his æsthetic judgment, of the typical and permanent as compared to the particular and new which may lack enduring qualities. So, too, the characters which he chooses are above all plastically notable: Gautier selects his personages from the present, or his type from the past, largely on account of its adaptibility to plastic presentation. He may make it even more beautiful than reality by emphasis on typical external traits and by the exclusion of inner differentiation. The actual loveliness of his protagonists can, indeed, be used as the determining influences on his plot, when, for example, the beauty of Ctésias becomes the central quality of the *Chaîne d'or*, when the *Toison d'or* is based on its hero's love for pictured beauty, when, in the *Roi Candaule*, the whole intrigue hinges on the king's feeling that the beautiful should not be concealed. In this development, as in his general choice of protagonists, Gautier's sentiments have had determinative power on his literary production.

The selection of the form in which a writer shall express himself is dependent upon many circumstances, among which one of the most influential is the personal feelings of the artist (83). Subjectively, in the form of the work of art, the especial endowment and acquisitions of skill on the part of its creator play, naturally, a major rôle, and no study of creative imagination is complete without an attempt to see in what way the artist was particularly gifted in possibilities for expression, what mental habits he formed and utilized, to what modes of presentation he was inclined by the especial facilities which he possessed. On the other hand, this question of technique is not alone in its bearing on form, for the desires which the author wishes to fulfil through his work have a necessary influence—in a degree to be determined—upon the means which he will choose, and the interaction between desires and habits of action will lead, through the general tendency toward economy of effort, to specific productions. So,

with Gautier, an influence of the sentiments upon literary form is to be expected; there will be certain modes of expression which will agree most nearly with his desires, and to which he will be inclined on account of his individual make-up. The personal feelings of the artist—in his case, above all the desire for permanence and the desire to create a certain type of beauty—will be of potential determinative influence on the form of his work.

The object of Gautier's work is, in accordance with his artistic theory, the creation of an external beauty or perhaps, as equivalent to this, the transposition of certain perceived beauties into a corresponding verbal structure. The form of his writing, then, should be as nearly plastic as possible in order that it may be at once most beautiful and most enduring. There is here, therefore, a very definite barrier to epic or dramatic composition, and a favouring of the short, inclusive piece of literary art, well-polished and complete in itself. On this basis, Gautier's choice of a poetic form like that of the *Emaux et Camées* is quite comprehensible: each piece is a finished work of art. Gautier feels that a great deal can be made of little (84), and in his discourse on the recent progress of poetry expounds his doctrine of poetic cameos:

" . . . Ce titre, *Emaux et Camées*, exprime le dessein de traiter sous forme restreinte de petits sujets, tantôt sur plaque d'or ou de cuivre avec les vives couleurs de l'émail, tantôt avec la roue du graveur de pierres fines, sur l'agate, la cornaline ou l'onyx. Chaque pièce devait être un médaillon à enchâsser sur le couvercle d'un coffret, un cachet à porter au doigt, serti dans une bague, quelque chose qui rappelât les empreintes des médailles antiques qu'on voit chez les peintres et les sculpteurs. Mais l'auteur ne s'interdisait nullement de découper dans les tranches laiteuses ou fauves de la pierre un pur profil moderne, et de coiffer à la mode des médailles syracusaines des Grecques de Paris entrevues au dernier bal. L'alexandrin était trop vaste pour ces modestes ambitions, et l'auteur n'employa que le vers de huit pieds, qu'il refondit, polit et cisela avec tout le soin dont il était capable. Cette forme, non pas nouvelle, mais renouvelée par les soins du rythme, la richesse de la rime et la précision que peut obtenir tout ouvrier patient terminant à loisir une petite chose, fut accueillie assez favorablement, et les vers de huit pieds groupés en quatrains devinrent pour quelques temps un sujet d'exercice parmi les jeunes poètes" (85).

The form of the short story and tale which the author employs in large measure is an approach to the same ideal in prose. Such a production as the *Nid des Rossignols* or *l'Enfant aux souliers de pain* shows him again occupied in the difficult piece of writing

which, when worked over and polished to the greatest extent, will from its restricted compass and high degree of interior composition receive a value in permanence and in beauty comparable to that of the well-painted picture. On the whole, however, it is the poem which is superior to the piece of prose, for it is the more difficult bit of writing, and to Gautier the hardness of the material is an assurance of its perpetuation :

“Quand même de la belle prose vaudrait de beaux vers, ce que je nie, le mérite de la difficulté vaincue doit-il être compté pour rien? Je sais que beaucoup de gens disent que la difficulté ne fait rien à la chose; cependant qu'est—ce que l'art, sinon le moyen de surmonter les obstacles que la nature oppose à la cristallisation de la pensée, et si cela était facile, où seraient donc le mérite et la gloire? Nous réclavons donc pour le poète le trône le plus élevé dans l'Olympe des supériorités de la pensée humaine; le poète absolu et arrivé au degré le plus inaccessible de perfection serait aussi grand que Dieu, et Dieu n'est peut-être que le premier poète du monde” (86).

Gautier, nevertheless, did not always write poetry—indeed, he abandoned it during most of his days and did not even substitute for it on all occasions the *nouvelle* which might give a nearly equivalent opportunity for creation of beauty. The causes for his defection are numerous, and cannot well be determined before the questions of his technique and of his economy of effort are examined. In so far, however, as he devotes himself to the finished poem or legend, rather than to the *feuilleton*, he followed the path indicated by his æsthetic sentiment (87).

The forms chosen by Gautier have still other connections with his organization of desires. He was interested in many verse-forms, and his experiments with the *terza-rima*, for example, were carried on with a signal degree of success (88). Here, undoubtedly, an element of pleasure in technique enters, but this is not wholly without a connection with the author's emotional make-up. He was curious of many literary forms and found amusement in scattered investigations (89); if he could prove himself successful in these imitations which gave him a certain intrinsic pleasure, he might then appear of greater value in his own eyes; his self-esteem would be enhanced by his mastery of these technical difficulties. A similar combination of motives may be seen in Gautier's attempts to make use of ancient or exotic style in his prose,

where legend-forms, *pastiches*, etc., are frequent. In these instances, again, technical interests and the satisfaction of the sentiment of self-regard incline the author to experimentation, especially when there is added the stimulus to exoticism of the æsthetic sentiment.

Another point to be considered in regard to the form chosen by Gautier for his work is the attitude of the author thereto: shall his production be personal or impersonal. With Gautier the general form is a personal one, for his production plainly expresses his sentiments, his own reactions to existence. It must be noted, however, that the most important of these sentiments are of their nature objectified: it is exterior, visible beauty which Gautier desires to create, something outside himself and removed from personal considerations, which yet represents his inner aspirations. The romantic soul-outpourings are transformed into an objectively equivalent, visual and plastic expression of what the author considers valuable. There is a distinct difference between the tones of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* and the *Roman de la Momie*, between *Albertus* and the *Emaux et Camées*; Gautier becomes objective rather than subjective in his literary attitude, the need for impassibility overcomes the desire for self-expression at any cost. For the *Roman de la Momie*, for example, the author documents himself thoroughly and tries to transport himself, in thought and vision, into the Egypt of the Pharoahs (90). Even here, however, Gautier the man penetrates; his own interests, aside from the basic preoccupation with beauty, are constantly reflected, and the doctrine of impassibility is not sufficient to prevent interpolations and comments made from his personal point of view (91). The general effort which he makes for impersonality and for objective realism seems rather a consequence of his æsthetic sentiment (with the included definition of beauty), than the practice of a literary theory based on non-personal causes. Gautier does not believe that realism alone is pure literature, that the mirroring of nature alone is a worthy end, or that only by an exclusively realistic style he can accomplish a desired effect. He is inclined to the impersonal by some of his emotional tendencies,

but these are not unique in his disposition, and while he favours an impersonal rather than a personal form after 1840, he uses the personal without scruple whenever it may seem to aid in the expression of the beautiful. In the midst of his greatest realism, he becomes romantic if his general object can be furthered by this mingling of forms. Clément de Ris writes that his form is not that of a picture, but "une palette chargée au hasard de couleurs brillantes et incohérentes," and that if this be style, then, "oui, Monsieur Théophile Gautier a un style des plus remarquables et des plus expressifs . . ." (92). Whatever the critical opinion of this form may be, there is no doubt that it reflects the author's organized emotional preferences as well as certain technical interests.

Gautier's emotional tendencies are thus evident in the atmosphere or background, in the protagonists and even in the form of his work. This work, however, is not wholly consistent with his sentiments, and while the latter have obviously had a powerful determinative influence, they have not succeeded in compelling the author to follow a single line of thought, to confine himself to a single kind of production. The influence of his drives to action is noticeable in each *genre* which he employs, and in a measure his literary works are a fulfilment of his desires, the practice corresponds to the theory. There are inconsistencies, nevertheless, and it does not appear that the creative imagination which brings about the finished product is equivalent merely to the intentions or interests of the author. Gautier's literary work, dependent in some degree upon his emotional tendencies for its form and development, is likewise determined by his especial technique, by his habits of work, and a study of the actual process of composition is necessary in order to distinguish further characteristics of the artist's imagination.

1. Article which appeared at the end of 1838 in the *Galerie de la Presse, de la littérature et des beaux-arts*, quoted by LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . ., I, 175-180.
2. *Les Grotesques*, p. 189.
3. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 17.

4. *Spirite*, p. 110. This point of view is still further developed, *ibid.*, p. 112, when Spirite states that she deduced Guy's character entirely from her reading; that her judgment of him whom she had seen only once, but whose work she knew, coincided completely with her later actual experience.

Cf. Ermatinger, who goes into this question from the point of view of literary psychology:

"Die innere Form des Dichtwerkes ist ein seelisches Leben, das die individuelle organische Gestalt bedingt. Es ist *innere* Form, weil es zwar formbildend ist, aber im Innern *unsichtbar* wirkt und erst durch eindringende Analyse erkannt wird. Ihre Quelle ist die Weltanschauung des Dichters. Bedeutet diese Ideendynamik als allgemeine geistige Richtung, so ist die innere Form das besondere Wirken dieser Ideendynamik im einzelnen Werke. Der blosse Stoff ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass ihm dieses individuelle innere Leben, diese Beseelung fehlt. Form ist dagegen beseelter Stoff. Es ist das Wesen der Ideendynamik, dass sie am Stoff Form hervorbringt. . . .

"Das Wirken der Idee im Stoffe äussert sich nun nach drei Richtungen: I, als allgemeine seelische Atmosphäre oder Lebensgefühl; II, als innere Triebkraft oder innere Motivierung; III, als Symbolik. . . ." ERMATINGER, *Das dichterische Kunstwerk*, p. 206.

For other expressions of Gautier's opinion in regard to the documentary value of the work of art, see *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 82; *L'Art moderne*, pp. 152, 165.

5. Letter from the Abbé de Montesquiou to Gautier's father, January 5, 1823; *Lovenjoul*, C-505-60.
6. Letter to Théophile Gautier, March 5, 1829; *Lovenjoul*, C-505-87. To the painter's father at this date, he says rather moderately that there are "de très bonnes choses dans ce tableau." *Ibid.*, C-505.
7. BOUCHER, *Une Visite à Maupérthuis*, p. 308.
8. *Lovenjoul*, C-516-bis. Cf. the catalogue of M. Charavay, which shows two or three caricatures, a drawing of a young woman crowned with roses, another of a nymph seated near some old trees, a portrait of "la Brambilla," Italian singer, another Italian head,—as having passed through various sales in Paris. Acknowledgment is due to M. Charavay for his kindness in giving access to these records.
9. *Lovenjoul*, C-404-8, 20.
10. BERGERAT, *Théophile Gautier, peintre*, dans son *Théophile Gautier*. . . ., p. 241-272.
11. V. BOCCHER, *Iconographie générale* . . . , no. 1, and the frontispiece to the 1874 edition of the *Portraits contemporains* (Charpentier).
12. V. le *Théâtre romantique* of Paul Ginisty, plates 46 and 42, respectively.
13. *Les Vignettes romantiques*, p. 280. Cf. Gassicourt, *Une visite à l'exposition* . . . , p. 7:

"Au nombre de ces documents (appartenant à M. Maurice Dreyfous) est un joli dessin à la mine de plomb, omis dans la liste de M. Bergerat et représentant une jeune fille sur les genoux d'un jeune homme; il porte la date du 17 novembre 1831. Le trait est malheureusement un peu effacé et le papier jauni; mais, tel qu'il est, ce croquis montre que Gautier avait la main sûre et devait exceller dans ces petites compositions. L'originalité n'en est cependant pas très grande, car la tête de la femme a quelque ressemblance avec la physionomie que l'auteur prêta dans la suite à Musidora, l'une des héroïnes de son *Fortunio*;

- on peut en juger en comparant le petit groupe au fac-simile du portrait, publié en frontispice dans une réimpression du roman, éditée en 1878 par la maison Charpentier. . . ."
14. JASINSKI, *Des documents sur Th. Gautier*.
 15. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 5 (article of 1867). Cf. *Histoire du romantisme*, pp. 3-5, 18.
 16. *Histoire de l'art dramatique* . . . , IV, 129; 20 octobre 1845.
 17. Letter to Vatry, of December 16, 1849; *Lovenjoul*, C-485-372.
 18. Letter to Xavier Aubryet, June 20, 1857; *Lovenjoul*, C-486-22.
 19. Letter to Sainte-Beuve, October 12, 1857; quoted by Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , I, xix. For Gautier's hesitations in the choice of vocation, v. also *Histoire du romantisme*, pp. 17, 18, 93.
 20. Cf., among many possible examples:
VICTOR HUGO—*Odes*, préface de 1822; Préface aux *Orientales*, paragraphes 5 and 7; *Odes*, p. 106; *Préface de Cromwell*, p. 319.
THÉOPHILE GAUTIER—*Les Jeunes-France*, p. 194; Préfaces à *Albertus*, à *Fortunio*, p. 6; *Poésies complètes*, II, 84, 134; Préface aux *Grotesques*, p. xii.
 21. Cf. *Poésies complètes*, I, 68, 103; II, 167; *Albertus*, strophes L and LI.
 22. Cf. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 97; *Poésies complètes*, I, 198; II, 60.
 23. Cf. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 13; *Poésies complètes*, I, 10, 35, 48, 283.
 24. *Poésies complètes*, I, 41, 38; II, 11, 14; *Albertus*, strophe LIV; *la Toison d'or*, p. 202; *l'Ame de la maison*, p. 246; *l'Enfant aux souliers de pain*, p. 372, 375; *le Capitaine Fracasse*, I, 219; *le Roman de la momie*, p. 180.
 25. *Albertus*, strophes XLVII, LV; *Poésies complètes*, I, 254, 294, 341; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, pp. 105, 202, 228, 411; *Une larme du diable*, p. 42.
 26. *Poésies complètes*, I, 30. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 103, 198, 208, 236; *Albertus*, LXXII; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 178; *les Grotesques*, p. 14.
 27. Cf. "Nostalgies d'Obélisques," *Emaux et Camées*, p. 65.
 28. Cf. further, *Poésies complètes*, I, 57, 65, 190; II, 10, 16, 125.
 29. *La Morte amoureuse*, p. 295; *Poésies complètes*, II, 105.
 30. *Poésies complètes*, II, 256; *le Capitaine Fracasse*, I, 122; cf. various descriptions in the *Voyages* which portray cemeteries, and the author's reactions to their sight. Cf. also *Paris futur*, *loc. cit.*, with its recommendation of a subterranean city of the dead.
 31. *Les Deux Etoiles*, I, 78-79.
 32. Quoted by Lovenjoul, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 188, from an article by Victor Hugo which was to appear in the *Vert-Vert* of December 15, 1835.
 33. POULAIN, *Traces de l'influence allemande* . . . , p. 56.
 34. David, in his study of the sources of this story, quotes parallel passages which demonstrate Gautier's interest in the supernatural features in his source; see no. 49.
 35. *Histoire de l'art dramatique* . . . , III, 80; 25 juillet 1843.
 36. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
 37. Cf. in *le Roi Candaule*, pp. 368, 389, 388, 391, 400, 413, 416, 418. In *Arria Marcella*, beside the basic phantasy of the story, other indications of Gautier's preoccupation with the mysterious are present; see pp. 277, 289, 292, 294, 296, 303, 308.
 38. *Poésies complètes*, I, 87.
 39. "Le chant du grillon," *ibid.*, I, 297; for the doves, see *ibid.*, I, 188, 403; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 62.

40. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 57.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 173; *le Capitaine Fracasse*, I, 9, 10.
42. Cf. *Poésies complètes*, I, 22, 74, 313; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, pp. 197, 199.
43. *Constantinople*, p. 132ss.; cf. the descriptions of dances in *Algeria*, *Loin de Paris*, p. 115ss.
44. Cf. *le Roi Candaule*, p. 414; cf. the figures of the scholars in *Fortunio* and in *Avatar*.
45. Cf. *la Comédie de la mort*, with its demonstrations of the horror beneath ordinary life; note also *Mademoiselle de Maupin* and *la Chaîne d'or*, with their treatments of extraordinary and perverted passions.
The existence of these two types of grotesque atmosphere as literary possibilities is pointed out in the *Préface de Cromwell*, when Victor Hugo writes that the grotesque is abundant in life: "il y est partout: d'une part il crée le difforme et l'horrible; de l'autre le comique et le bouffon." It should be noted that in *les Grotesques*, where Gautier chooses a subject within this whole atmosphere, the actual work which he does serves to bring out the characteristics of his heroes which are, as a matter of fact, farthest removed from the grotesque, and that he emphasizes the freedom and the beauty of their occasional productions rather than their usual curious characters. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. vi.
46. Cf. *Caprices et Zigzags*, pp. 106, 135; *Loin de Paris*, pp. 223, 224, 225, where Gautier's idea of the beauty of the grotesque appears in contrast to the romantic tradition of the grotesque as "repoussoir" of the beautiful. Gautier believes also in the latter doctrine: cf. *Loin de Paris*, pp. 150, 289.
47. LARSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102.
48. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 15.
49. Cf. "Les vendeurs du temple," *Poésies complètes*, I, 237; "Versailles," *ibid.*, p. 280; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 27; *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, pp. 353, etc., etc.
50. MONTÉGUT, *Nos morts contemporains*, II, 36. Cf. BALDENSPERGER, *Goethe en France*, p. 150; chapter entitled "Autour de Faust."
51. POULAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
52. These two sketches are published in the *Peau de tigre* of 1866.
53. In *la Chronique de Paris*, 3 juillet 1836.
54. "Salon de 1836," *Cabinet de lectures*, mars-avril 1836.
55. Cf. the typically romantic Arabian steeds of the early works, *Poésies complètes*, I, 85, 116; *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 55; *Albertus*, CVIII, etc.; the little negro in scarlet livery who appears in *Albertus*, LXXXVII; Fortunio's tigress, and his passionate Javanese, Soudja-Sari, etc., etc.
56. Cf. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs intimes*.
57. *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, II, 176, 177; 8 novembre 1841.
58. *Un Repas au désert de l'Égypte*, quoted by Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres*, I, 8, as appearing in the *Gastronome* of March 24, 1831. The tale has little local colour, and inclines to the *frénétique* rather than to the exotic. It is none the less a transposition in space.
59. CHAMPFLEURY, *les Vignettes romantiques*, note to p. 317, where Gautier's interest in La Bruyère and classic style in general is pointed out. The same author also notes Gautier's interest in the 18th century, his early recognition of the merits of the *rococo*, of Watteau, etc. Cf., in Gautier's work, *le Petit chien de la marquise*, *Jean et Jeannette*, and various poems where 18th century art is celebrated.

60. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 87.
61. SCHWOB, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-18, quoting Gautier's source in *ATHÉNÉE*, livre xiii, chapitre lxvi.
62. *Op. cit.*, I, 52-53, 57.
63. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 131.
64. Cf. *Histoire de l'art dramatique* . . ., IV, 8-9; 6 janvier 1845.
65. D. M., *Critique littéraire*, *Une larme du diable*, p. 136.
66. Gavarni (in the *Œuvres choisies de Gavarni*, t. I).
67. *De l'Originalité en France*, 14 juin 1832; in *Fusains et eaux-fortes*, p. 11.
68. *Compte-rendu de la Péri*, 25 juillet 1843; *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, III, 76.
69. LUITZ, *Aesthetik* . . ., p. 60.
70. CLARETIE, préface à *Jean et Jeannette*, p. ix.
71. *L'Art moderne*, pp. 182-183.
72. *Albertus*, LXXVII; cf. strophes LXIX, LXXV; *Poésies complètes*, I, 70, 80, 87, 91, 283; II, 98, 147, 155; *les Grotesques*, p. 304, where Gautier praises Scudéry for his "ingenious idea" of making of a gallery of art-objects the subject for poetry.
73. *La Toison d'or*, p. 183; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 9.
74. *Poésies complètes*, I, 297. The present notation of Gautier's use of pictorial or sculptural allusions in his work is made simply for the purpose of demonstrating his plastic atmosphere. The question of his dependence on such developments, and that of their significance for the characterization of his creative imagination, will be taken up in detail in the consideration of the author's actual process of composition.
75. *Pochades et Paradoxes*, in the *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 162.
76. *Le Roi Candaule*, pp. 373, 378, 379, 399; *Arria Marcella*, pp. 286, 282, 294, 295, 303, 309.
77. SPRONCK, *Les Artistes littéraires*, p. 77. The change from actual feminine beauty as a preoccupation to an absorption in the formal qualities of such beauty is of much interest for the designation of the place of the sentiments in Gautier's literary production. As might have been expected, in the case of an author endowed with a high degree of sexual and tender feelings, there are in his work many appearances of the women whom he loved (cf. BLANGUERNON, *Une amie inconnue* . . ., pp. 123-133), and in the same way, various physical attributes of beauty are incorporated in the poems and stories. The general impression of his writing, however, is not one of passion: the author does not seem to be preoccupied with the expression of his own varied feelings, but rather with the representation of the objective beauty which may, incidentally, have aroused in him other than æsthetic response. He agrees with the current opinion that the relation between the true plastic artist and his models is a contemplative one (cf., for example, *le Portrait de Madame Jabulot*, in *la Peau de tigre*, p. 209, with Amaury-Duval's accounts of the attitude of his associates, in *l'Atelier d'Ingres*, pp. 75-77), and by the progression in his writing from an emphasis on the sensual to the accentuation of æsthetic characters, he demonstrates his dependence on feminine form as a means for *Gestaltung*, and as an occasion for the approach to absolute Beauty in his literary product. (Cf. MARCEL, *Essai sur Th. Gautier*, p. 22, who sees in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, as in *Avatar*, *Spirite*, and the *Roman de la momie* the expression of the joys of immaterial love rather than the "intoxication with a physical Venus"; for the progression toward emphasis on the plastic

rather than on the sensual, v. *le Roman de la momie* as compared to *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, the plastic preoccupation of Tiburce in the *Toison d'or* as compared to the desires of the Jeunes-France, etc.)

78. *La Toison d'or*, p. 161.

79. "La vraie esthétique," *Poésies complètes*, II, 261.

80. Cf. LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , I, 38, on the rôles played by Gautier himself. Tourneux, in his preface to *Celle-ci et celle-là*, points out similar characteristics of the author's heroes.

81. In his correspondence with Louis de Cormenin, Gautier writes of the advisability of introducing this friend as one of the personages who shall figure in his accounts of Venice, just as he had taken part in the actual days spent there. In August Gautier writes that he had not mentioned Cormenin, because he disliked to make use of his friends for his literature; he omitted him, due to respect and not to forgetfulness. In November he says that this figure has been named and introduced into certain *feuilletons*, and that if Cormenin thinks this too episodic, "je taillerai une petite statuette que je fourrerai dans le livre. . . ." V. Lovenjoul, C-486-129, 137. Gautier had no intention of creating figures to take the place which he might give to Cormenin; he would dispense with spectators for the scenes he described if he could not, with proper personal respect, make use of the actual visitors who had accompanied him in his travels.

82. DESSOIR, *Aesthetik* . . . , p. 197.

83. Cf. MÜLLER-FREIENFELS, *Psychologie der Kunst* . . . , II, 2-8. The aesthetician distinguished also, in the choice of form, the effect which the author desires to produce, the exigencies of the material with which he works, and the demands of the subject which is to be treated. These are subjectively almost wholly matters of personal endowment and development of technique, and, objectively, are the result of the initial choice which is due to the author's feelings. It is therefore unnecessary to consider them at this point in the study of Gautier's creative imagination.

84. *Le Moniteur universel*, 12 juin 1858.

85. *Op. cit.*, in *l'Histoire du romantisme*, p. 322.

86. *L'Excellence de la poésie*, 16 janvier 1837; in *Fusains et eaux-fortes*, p. 54.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, the estimate of Gautier's art in the short-story which has been made by one of his recent critics:

" . . . His critics (Faguet and Sainte-Beuve), maintaining that he is above all a poet and a painter, like to stress either the lyric or the pictorial element in his stories, and grant him small skill in sheer narration. Without doubt their view that fiction was of secondary interest to him is correct. Yet he accepted its conditions more wholeheartedly than they think. There is a suggestion of this truth in his letter to Sainte-Beuve. . . . And the evidence proves that the structure of many of his tales is far from being either haphazard or spontaneous, that the degree of unity he sometimes attains is the result of a deliberate plan, that after all, as a narrator, he is no mean figure." SMITH, *The Brief-narrative art* . . . , p. 664.

87. The choice of *feuilleton*-writing is, as indicated in the first chapter, largely due to Gautier's desire for protection: his sentiment of self-regard made the neglect of his family a neglect of himself, and he could not afford, from this personal point of view, to let them be uncared-for and unprotected. Earning a comfortable living became a necessity to him.

- The whole question of these rival tendencies of the self-regarding and æsthetic sentiments is to be considered, together with technical facilitations or hindrances, in connection with Gautier's economy of effort as applied to literary production.
88. It will be recalled that Gautier writes, in his autobiographies, of early experiments with Latin metres; in Spain he attempted to adapt new rhyme-schemes or metrical combinations to French verse, etc.
 89. In the passages quoted by David from the sources of Gautier's *Pavillon sur l'eau*, it is of interest to note certain paragraphs or phrases dealing with poetic technique (*op. cit.*, nos. 46, 47, 66), which Gautier has wished to take over and incorporate in his new construction.
 90. Cf. FEYDEAU's accounts, *Souvenirs intimes*, pp. 87-94, of the composition of this novel.
 91. Cf., for the reflection of Gautier's non-plastic interests, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 32, 34, 35, 41, 53, 60, 61, 174, 204, 222, 231, 242, 243, 249, 254, 262 and 287; for his personal interventions, pp. 6, 15, 21, 29, 35, 50, 52, 63, 106, 125, 127, 144, 147, 148, 173, 192, 193, 198, 204, 221, 240, 242, 250, 303, 304. A similar method is noticeable in the *Roi Candaule* and in *Arria Marcella*, which might both, on account of their *genre*, do without lyric expression; cf., *le Roi Candaule*, pp. 303, 365, 366, 367, 371, 395 and 407, for personal judgments by the author; pp. 368, 369, 373, 375, 378, 382, 392, 395, for interpolations in the first person; pp. 398 and 399, for additions to the ancient setting due to the later knowledge of the author. *Arria Marcella*, pp. 277, 280, 281, 293, 300, 311 and 312, shows similar developments due to Gautier's personal knowledge.
 92. CLÉMENT DE RIS, *Portraits à la plume*, p. 149.

THE LITERARY COMPOSITION OF THÉOPHILE GAUTIER—TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT AND METHOD

When one passes from the consideration of a correspondence between his sentiments and the atmosphere, theme and form in Gautier's work to the investigation of technical abilities—from an analysis of his writings in the light of his desires to a study of his method of production—it becomes necessary to search out records of the man as exterior evidence of the process carried on. What the author of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* was in endowment, what was his command of language, what his memory, how he set out to compose, to document himself, actually to write—these questions arise in the beginning of any attempt to analyze the character of his literary composition. Not that this is sufficient: his capacity as a writer, his type of mind, cannot be determined without an intensive study of the product itself, at all possible stages of its development, but even before these processes of his imagination are inquired into, a general view of the author's technical equipment and method may be attained.

Many facts of Gautier's daily life are available; it is possible to follow him from the care-free time of the *Premières Poésies* to the discouraging years during which the *Histoire du romantisme* was written. The author's general attitude toward the work which he undertook, and his coincident habits of mind, are not wholly unknown. The friends of his youth, he himself, the devoted disciples of his old age, have all left records which make possible a reconstruction. One of the earliest statements, indeed, is that of his school comrade Tampucci, whose poem "A Théophile Gautier" gives in 1832 a very definite impression of the young poet in the midst of his first composition:

"Sur un sable doré ta vie, ô Théophile!
Coule parmi des fleurs,
Qui, se courbant au bord de ton onde tranquille,
Y versent leurs odeurs.

"Elle coule. Jamais nul caillou ne dérange
 Son cours capricieux,
 Et son murmure est doux comme le vol d'un ange
 Qui descendrait des cieux.
 Et tu dors aux parfums de ta rive embaumée;
 Et, pendant ton sommeil,
 La Poésie accourt à ta lèvre enflammée
 Livrer son front vermeil.
 * * * * *
 Ainsi passent tes jours nonchalans! Que t'importe!
 Nul chagrin obstiné
 Ne trouble, en paraissant sur le seuil de ta porte,
 Ton loisir fortuné.
 Ta lèvre n'a jamais goûté l'absynthe amère
 Du morne désespoir.
 Près de toi sont test sœurs; un baiser de ta mère
 Clôt tes yeux chaque soir.
 Et tu te dis: 'C'est bien; je jouis; que le monde,
 S'il le peut, fasse ainsi.
 Que sert de me montrer sa plaie énorme, immonde?
 Je n'en ai nul souci.
 Dans un ciel idéal mon âme va se teindre
 D'ineffables couleurs.
 Elle y trouve une vie où ne peuvent l'atteindre
 Vos ignobles douleurs'" (1).

It is a picture of ease, of pleasure in his writing, which Gautier himself confirms a few years later:

"Au temps où nous passions nos journées à faire se becqueter deux rimes au bout d'une idée, où nous nous couchions fort content de nous-même lorsque nous avions accouplé heureusement *perle* et *merle*, *aigle* et *seigle*,—délicieuse occupation que rien ne remplace au monde, pas même l'amour!—nous avons écrit quelques pages sur le théâtre tel que nous l'entendions. . . . Voici donc quelles étaient nos idées en 1835. Nous avouons, à la honte de notre raison, qu'aujourd'hui, 16 décembre 1838, par cette matinée de brouillard qui prête peu aux illusions poétiques, nous sommes encore du même avis" (2).

His historian, Lovenjoul, gives an account of the composition of his first novel which, in its turn, shows the liberty of spirit, the atmosphere of play, which filled the two years (1833 to 1835) taken for the writing of the first volume:

"Une tradition conservée dans sa famille raconte qu'à cette époque le père du poète l'enferma souvent dans sa chambre, avec interdiction d'en sortir avant d'avoir achevé un nombre de pages déterminé des *Grotesques* ou de *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. Quand la bonté maternelle ne venait pas à son secours, l'espionnage écrivain, qui demeurerait alors avec ses parents place Royale, trouvait souvent moyen de s'enfuir par la fenêtre, et d'échapper ainsi au pensum paternel. Grâce à de pareilles évasions, fréquemment renouvelées, le roman n'avancait guère" (3).

Very different was the attitude of twenty years later, when Gautier wrote to Madame Regina Lhomme in 1851:

"Moi je suis seul maintenant . . . je me traîne nonchalamment sur les différens bitumes, un peu fatigué de mon Salon et m'entraînant pour finir l'Italie . . ." (4).

It was twelve years later still that Maurice Dreyfous met Gautier and began the friendship which continued until the latter's death. His observations of the methods of work of this man who now wrote in an effort, more and more difficult, to keep his many dependents from want, show that another step has been taken: Work and pleasure are no longer one, as in 1833, work is no longer a normal though arduous part of his ordinary life, as in 1851, but between 1863 and 1872, the years of his acquaintance with Dreyfous, a separation between the task and the daily interests has been made. The task has become perfunctory, it is exacted from him by the necessities of life, and so is isolated from his principal personal interests, though no diminution of technical skill results from this division. Much of the author's work was, according to Dreyfous, performed during those rides on the imperial of the omnibus for which Gautier had a mania; when he arrived at his work-table, he had only to record this composition word for word, while he listened to the conversation about him and took his part in it. Dreyfous considered that this double personality was remarkable. "Il était, comme disent les gens du commun, *continuellement sorti* . . . Rarement, je crois, un homme possède au même degré que Gautier le don de disparaître de soi-même, et celui de se croire en toute sincérité en des lieux où il n'était pas réellement" (5). At the very end of his life, when literary work was no longer possible and when all effort was difficult, Edmond de Goncourt found in the changed manner of speech—that speech which was at the basis of Gautier's composition—the surest evidence of his illness:

"Il y a chez Théophile Gautier, non point encore une diminution de l'intelligence, mais comme un ensommeillement du cerveau. Quand il parle, il a toujours l'épithète peinte, le tour original de la pensée, mais pour parler, pour formuler ses paradoxes, on sent dans sa parole plus lente, dans le cramponnement de son attention après le fil et la logique de son idée, on sent

une application, une tension, une dépense de volonté qui n'existaient pas dans le jaillissement spontané et comme irréfléchi et irraisonné de son verbe d'autrefois" (6).

That his friend was right in regarding this verbal trouble as a primary indication of Gautier's decline is manifest from the testimony of the author's great facility in the use of words during his many years of production. The determination of this verbal gift is, moreover, of no little importance for the analysis of his artistic creation. The testimony dates from the year when Gautier was fifteen years old to the present time, forty-three years after his death. So the critic Albalat now writes:

"On ne saurait écrire plus brillamment ni plus vite, . . . Gautier se fiait tellement à son inspiration qu'il prétendait commencer ses phrases sans savoir comment il les finirait. 'Quand on connaît son métier,' disait-il, 'elles retombent toujours sur leurs pieds'" (7).

It was the school-boy's benefactor, that Abbé de Montesquiou who left Théophile his library, who serves as the first witness, when he writes to Gautier's father, on January 8th, 1826:

" . . . J'espère que vous m'aurez déjà acquité avec M. Théophile et que vous aurez su choisir ce qui lui était le plus agréable; mais je veux qu'il me permette d'ajouter quelque avis sur sa belle poésie.

"Elle est remarquable par sa facilité, et rien ne désarme plus la critique; mais on peut se la permettre lorsqu'il paroît si facile d'en profiter. . . . Je fais ces observations à M. Théophile, parce qu'il arrive à l'âge où il faut se défendre de sa facilité. Elle est sans doute un don du ciel, mais elle est un peu ennemie du travail; elle éloigne ces méditations, ces recherches au fond desquelles se trouvent cependant le beau et le sublime. Il faut donc combattre cette facilité, et le véritable moyen est d'orner sa mémoire des plus belles productions des grands maîtres. . . ." (8).

In the following year, again, the kind Abbé thanks his godson once more for his gift of verses on the New Year, and once more finds them remarkable for their facility (9). Gautier's father himself considers this talent praiseworthy, and does not hesitate to express his pleasure in one of Théophile's first occasional pieces, "Le 28 juillet 1840" (10). However, the editor of the *Roman de la Momie*, Julian Turgan, does not think its author's verbal gift wholly admirable, and in a letter of amicable criticism takes him rather severely to task for his actual use of words as well as for a total disregard of the "cœur de tous ces gens":

"*Primo*: J'ai absolument (comme éditeur) besoin de deux jours de feuilletons de toi, demain et après demain; tu ne veux en faire qu'un parce qu'il te faut le temps de chercher des mots d'auteur.—Bon.—Alors je te dis: 'Fais-en un de mots d'auteur, et un petit de mots français ordinaire, agréable, mélangé d'une douzaine seulement de mots d'auteur, et tu me rendras l'effet que je te demande. . . .'

"Je comprends très bien que tu sois entraîné par la férocity de l'étude, par l'empoignement et la fièvre du rendu; mais moi, ton ami, je suis en dehors de la chose, et je crois que tes affaires gagneraient énormément par la contrainte même que tu t'imposerais de raconter l'amour d'Arthur et d'Eugénie, tout en décrivant leur culotte et leur gilet de flanelle" (11).

The Goncourts, in this same year of the publication of the *Roman de la Momie*, take note of its author's facility and charm of speech, and ten years later their opinion remains unchanged:

"1^{er} mai 1857. . . . C'est une causerie tête à tête, simple, tranquille, bonhomme, allant sans se presser, mais tout droit, et sans surcharge de métaphores, et avec une grande suite dans l'enchaînement des idées et des mots, et, par-ci, par-là, laissant percer une mémoire étonnante, où le souvenir a la netteté d'un cliché photographique" (12).

"14 février 1868. . . . Gautier dans ce logis inhospitalier de tous les côtés . . . sème intarissablement les paradoxes, les propos élevés, les pensées originales, les fantaisies rares. Quel causeur,—bien, bien supérieur à ses livres, quelque valeur qu'ils aient,—et toujours dans la parole au delà de ce qu'il écrit. Quel régal pour les artistes que cette langue au double timbre et qui mêle souvent les deux notes de Rabelais et de Henri Heine: de l'énormité grasse ou de la tendre mélancolie.

"Il parlait, ce soir, de l'ennui, de l'ennui qui le ronge, . . . et il en parlait, comme le poète et le coloriste de l'ennui" (13).

In that same year the painter Hébert wrote to him of the "magnificence de langage, des perles et des diamants dans ton riche écrin" (14). Perhaps the most striking testimony to this power over words, however, is supplied by those friends of Gautier who wrote of him after his death; in any case, the accuracy of this evidence, and of its interpretation by later critics, cannot be doubted in the face of the judgments given during his lifetime. Feydeau, for example, who had watched the up-building of Tahoser in her Egyptian surroundings, found that her historian could, in the very process of writing, formulate his thought in its definitive form, and it is he also who records that, at the dinners of "la Présidente," "par une singulière et précieuse faculté de son esprit encyclopédique, il parlait absolument comme il écrivait. C'était la même pureté de style, la même abondance d'images, le même choix de pensées, les mêmes saillies, les mêmes

traits" (16). Bergerat, too, who lived in the intimacy of the family during the last years of Gautier's life, records his father-in-law's passion for word-games, his skill in the pastime of *bouts-rimés*, and in the invention of heraldic devices (17), and he tells the tale of the dictionary-game in which, in 1871, Gautier could define exactly the 60,000 words of Rivarol, but where, for the spelling, it was necessary for him to *write* those of which he felt uncertain:

"Car il voyait les mots écrits, comme il les entendait à la fois chantés, et il fallait qu'ils passassent à l'épreuve de cette double opération où tout son art se révèle. En cela il était bien maître poète, à fonds et à tréfonds, et ceux qui ne le sont pas ainsi ne le sont guère" (18).

It was shortly after the death of the author that Paul Parfait's article on him appeared, with its illustrations after certain unpublished Algerian sketches by the traveller, and with a text which judged severely the merits of these drawings beside their facile and beautiful prose descriptions (19). So another associate, Charles Yriarte, writes that no matter how short the study made of Gautier, no one could omit a reference to an especial predisposition, a gift of the poet—that of admirable conversation, of a verbal endowment both abundant and charming, paradoxical and sure of its logic (20). Marcel attributes the poet's remarkable gift of speech, as well as his love for luminous form, to his meridional origin (21), and, as already noted, Albalat finds that this facility, which Gautier praised in his disciples, was the strength and the weakness of the good Théo (7). That Gautier praised verbal facility and felt that it was the foundation of his writing, in that, with his good syntax, his sentences always fell on their feet, is unquestioned. Bergerat quotes his famous conviction:

"Celui qu'une pensée, fût-ce la plus complexe, une vision, fût-ce la plus apocalyptique, surprend sans mots pour les réaliser, n'est pas un écrivain" (22).

He considered, also, that an aptitude for very rapid assimilation (and so the means for facility of expression) was characteristic of his century (23), and perhaps his advice to the young painter Leleux, "qu'il se défie de la facilité qui ne peut manquer de lui

venir, . . . qu'il se garde de peindre d'après des croquis ou des dessins faits à la hâte ou trop légèrement" (24), is a realization of the truth of his own godfather's warning in regard to an innate facility such as the mature author had developed and exploited in his literary technique.

"Son érudition verbale était, en effet, tout à fait remarquable et il l'avait nourrie d'une lecture très abondante et très diverse. Ces acquisitions lui étaient du reste facilitées par une mémoire excellente et sa parfaite lucidité d'esprit lui permettait de se servir avec une aisance surprenante des matériaux ainsi amassés. . . . Si Hugo était parfois porté à abuser de ses magnifiques ressources verbales, Gautier n'usait des siennes qu'avec une savante modération" (25).

The ease of expression for which Gautier was noted implies, thus, an exceptionally good verbal memory, and there is no doubt, from the testimony of his friends, that the author was indeed remarkable in his power of remembering words and their meanings, bits of prose, and pieces of verse. The testimony of Bergerat shows the impression made by this faculty on those who witnessed its exercise:

"Vers ou prose, tout ce qui était à portée de sa main servait de pâture à son énorme curiosité de connaître. Et une fois le livre lu, il le savait à tout jamais et s'en souvenait encore dix ans après. S'il était contraint de sortir, sa promenade ne lui laissait pas une minute de repos ou d'oisiveté: le moindre tableau, le paysage le plus ordinaire, l'aspect des choses banales s'incrustaient dans cette mémoire avec une fixité d'airain. Il ne savait peut-être pas les noms changeants des rues de Paris, mais il connaissait tellement la plus petite, la plus obscure et la plus délaissée par son aspect, qu'en y retournant vingt ans après, il aurait pu dire si on en avait changé un tuyau de cheminée.

"Il y a sur cette prodigieuse mémoire et sur cette sûreté de vision des histoires presque fabuleuses et cependant scrupuleusement vraies. Théophile Gautier m'a conté lui-même que le *Voyage en Russie* n'a été écrit que quatre ans après le séjour qu'il y fit, sans aucune espèce de notes et sans l'ombre d'une rature. Et ce voyage, comme tous ceux qu'il a signés, passe pour une merveille d'exactitude" (26).

It will be noted that the poet's son-in-law has remarked, in addition to verbal memory, the extraordinary habits of visual observation and recall on the part of Gautier. The truth of this assertion is pointed to by the poet himself, in his autobiography of 1867:

"On doute parfois de la mémoire des enfants. La mienne était telle, et la configuration des lieux s'y était si bien gravée qu'après plus de quarante ans j'ai pu reconnaître, dans la rue qui mène au Mercadieu, la maison où

je naquis. Le souvenir des silhouettes de montagnes bleues qu'on découvre au bout de chaque ruelle et des ruisseaux d'eaux courantes qui, parmi les verdure, sillonnent la ville en tous sens, ne m'est jamais sorti de la tête et m'a souvent attendri aux heures songeuses " (27).

The strong impression of the visual and the memory of forms are also evident from earlier work of Gautier, in his many accurate descriptions of things seen; two references to Marilhat's " Place de l'Esbekieh " aid in their demonstration :

" *La Place de l'Esbekieh* représentait l'Egypte avec un éblouissement de chaleur, un vertige de lumière, une exubérance de végétation incroyables. Il nous semble voir encore ce monstrueux caroubier au feuillage d'un vert noir, qui jetait des ombres bleues sur le sable orange, aux branches tordues, enlacées comme des nœuds de serpens boas. . . ." (28).

" De l'Afrique, passons en Syrie, où M. Henri de Chacaton nous fait assister au départ d'une caravane. Reposons-nous un instant à l'ombre du platane d'Hippocrate, dans l'île de Stanchio, géant végétal qui, pour la curiosité difforme de son tronc et les coudes étranges de ses branches, rappelle le caroubier monstrueux qui découpait son ombre bleue sur la place de l'Esbekieh, ce chef-d'œuvre de Marilhat " (29).

If, however, words and observations entered freely into Gautier's memory-material, there were other possibilities of recall to which he did not respond so accurately—the factual and the auditory. It was only a couple of years after the publication of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, for example, when the young author inserted in *La Presse*, as an isolated article just rediscovered, a portion of that novel which had already reappeared, but without indication of provenance, in the *Monde dramatique* of 1836 (30). So, too, the memories recorded in the *Histoire du romantisme* are notably inaccurate; the facts of the youthful escapades of the Jeunes-France had become myths. In a similar manner, sound as such evaded the author's memory. It was possible for him to recall in full the poems of others, and in his own work form and metre remained easily with him (31), but " le son particulier à un certain larynx, non. Et non-seulement ce son est perdu pour toujours, mais la mémoire humaine, ce miroir du temps et des choses n'en réfléchit rien. Est-ce bizarre! " (32).

With this basis of facility in verbal expression, and in verbal and visual memory, what was Gautier's method of going to work, how did he set about his literary composition, and what procedure,

what habits were usual to him? There is little in the biographical material to show the need of external stimulants to action—of artificial aids to induce a proper frame of mind. It is true that the *Journal* of the Goncourts, in 1868, reports a conversation which might justify the imputation of a motive, other than curiosity, to the haschich séances of the Hôtel Pimodan.

“Puis il parle haschich, visions, excitations cérébrales à la mode en 1830, nous raconte qu'il a écrit *Militona*, en dix jours, grâce à des granules, pris en deux doses de cinq, le soir et le matin, et qui lui donnèrent une merveilleuse lucidité” (33).

There is no confirmation to this story, however, and one is inclined to think it, if not merely the romantic imagination of the author's last years, at most the memory of the following-out of a sudden interest, or of the result of a temporary strain, and even then it is not impossible that this memory was amplified in the recounting. What seems more in accord with Gautier's general habits, and with their analysis by contemporaries, is the artificial stimulation which came to the author from his exterior surroundings, from the very hubbub in which his journalistic work had been carried on. It will be recalled that the composition of *le Capitaine Fracasse*, that mature revival of a youthful idea, took place in the newspaper office itself, and that the stimulus of a page-by-page checking alone permitted of the accomplishment of this great piece of work (34). Yriarte reports a similar procedure when, after discoursing upon the simplicity of the author's arrangement for work at Neuilly, and upon his ease in writing without preparatory research, he says:

“Encore que la poésie recherche la solitude, Théophile Gautier se plaît à sentir la vie autour de lui: le mouvement et le bruit intelligent ne l'effrayent point; mais il a horreur de tout tumulte inutile” (35).

Perhaps, however, the most effective external assistance to his creative imagination came from Gautier's friends and associates—and this aside from the question of his need for payment and the consequent satisfaction of engagements for work. The latter influence made itself felt in his career as an original writer, as well as in his journalistic activity, but it was not alone—for

his editors seem really to have wanted his work. It is in such an ambiguous spirit of need for remuneration and desire to please his publisher that Gautier refused Léonce Leroux's invitation to take a trip down the Seine in June 1835:

" . . . J'ai un sale roman à finir que je voudrais bien voir à tous les diables. Renduel s'est mis définitivement dans la colère la plus furieuse après moi, car l'ouvrage devait être terminé au mois de février 1834, ainsi tu vois que la retard n'est pas mince et je n'oserais guère me dérober une quinzaine à la meute d'imprimeurs qui me poursuit à la ville et aux champs. Si je m'en allais sans avoir fini non seulement il me rouerait de coups, (cet illustre libraire) mais encore il ne me payerait pas . . ." (36).

The same state of financial need and desire for amicable approbation is evident from his correspondence with Emile de Girardin (37), and the friendship with Delphine Gay, that " Muse romantique ", was undoubtedly one of the most valuable animating agents of Gautier's literary production:

" On a pu se convaincre de l'activité déployée par Mme. de Girardin dans tout ce qui touche au journal de son mari. Gautier, directeur littéraire et artistique, collabore constamment avec elle; ils échangent des services, se prêtent des volumes, des livrets du Salon et des loges de théâtre. Il sollicite la charité de quelques détails sur un concert de Chopin auquel il n'assista pas et dont il doit rendre compte. Elle lui désigne ce dont il faut parler et ce dont il ne faut pas parler. Elle veut qu'il lui lise les entrefilets rédigés sur sa demande. Elle lui fournit les noms des notabilités présentes à une soirée que par oubli il passa sous silence. Elle maudit la politique qui empêche leurs feuillets de passer " (38).

It is thus that he is able to write to her, from London in 1851, expressing his appreciation of her collaboration of effort:

" Vous m'avez fait une si splendide description des féeries de l'Exposition indienne, et vous avez témoigné un si gracieux désir de voir vos impressions écrites par votre tout dévoué estaffier, que je suis parti avec le secret et la rapidité d'un Treilhet, quoique je n'emportasse pas six cent mille francs. . . . Je suis devenu, en trois heures, de la force de plusieurs Héva sur les choses du Gange. . . .

" Je vais écrire ce voyage de trois mille lieues et de trois mille ans en trois feuillets que j'enverrai à *la Presse* d'ici, car je veux avoir les objets sous les yeux . . ." (39).

The question of collaboration, and that of the part of financial pressure, in the literary output of the critic and author, could be discussed at some length, but for the purpose of indicating his habits of work, it is sufficient to point to certain examples

of Gautier's procedure. That he received factual and technical aid in the preparation of some of his articles is not to be doubted. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, it is true, notes that his statement (as a heading to folios 3-18, C-516): "Manuscrit des articles écrits à Munich par Paul Meurice pour obliger Th. Gautier, et publiés par celui-ci sous son nom (Voir l'Art moderne, où ils sont réimprimés)," is to be verified, but the same historian mentions the collaboration of Allyre Bureau, a young composer, in the early music-articles (40), and this same type of assistance was given by Ernest Reyer, and, according to Servières, is testified to by the proportion of technical criticism present in the musical reviews, varying according to the part taken therein by the composer of *Salammbô* (41). The dramatic *feuilletons* also were written in many cases on information supplied by the critic's secretary, for during Gautier's visits to Geneva he was not always replaced on the newspaper staff by one of his friends—Gérard de Nerval, Louis de Cormanin, Paul de Saint-Victor—as was the case during his longer journeys. Indeed, the process was sometimes reversed, and, while Gautier remained in Paris, his associates would send him data on foreign or provincial expositions. Perhaps a letter of his youthful campaign gives the most vivid description of this method:

" . . . Tu me demandes quelques explications. Il faut voir à Cologne beaucoup d'Albert Durer, d'Hemlinck. . . . Si tu vois des Metz et des Terburg, regardes-les à deux fois. Taches de découvrir des Adrien Brawer et des Cräesbecke, je ne connais rien de ces maîtres. Si tu rencontres un Everdingen fais-m'en deux pages de description. . . .

"Quand à la manière de prendre des notes sur cette peinture, il faut décrire exactement et insister sur les côtés singuliers et caractéristiques de chaque, faire à peu près ce que je fais pour donner idée d'un tableau: peu de réflexions, de verbiages, et d'idées synthétiques; la chose, la chose et toujours la chose.—A Anvers des Rubens, des Jordaens, des Van Dick . . . Essaie de distinguer les plus purs et d'établir un type certain de ces trois maîtres. Voilà à peu près le plan de ta campagne pittoresque . . ." (42).

It is, again, the critic's own evidence which gives, in the relation of his financial arrangements with his newspaper managers and his editors, most valuable information in regard to his habits of work and his attitude toward the type of production undertaken. Two letters to the management of *la Presse*, one in connection

with a *Salon*, the other bearing upon the conditions for dramatic work, are thus of interest. The critic writes:

"J'ai été toute la journée hier et aujourd'hui au Salon et je puis commencer à partir de lundi à donner un article tous les jours. Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait matière pour plus de sept à 8 numéros. Comme nous avons eu l'année passée des difficultés sur le prix de ce travail j'aurais été bien aise de vous voir avant de m'y mettre; il m'est impossible d'accepter cinquante francs; le soin extrême qu'exige une semblable critique, la nécessité d'aller au Salon tous les jours et de faire son article la nuit veulent être récompensés. . . . Je ferai les articles plus longs et moins nombreux; j'aurai de la sorte achevé plus vite et votre intérêt se trouvera concilié avec le mien. Il m'est pénible de discuter la rémunération d'une œuvre d'esprit, parce qu'il faut me vanter moi-même, mais je ne puis faire ce travail pour une si maigre somme. . . . Je ne suis ni avide ni avare, vous le savez bien, et je ferai ma tâche encore plus consciencieusement pour y perdre" (43).

Four years later he writes to his administrator, giving conditions for a new *feuilleton* which shall have twenty-eight thousand eight hundred lines a year, and excluding from payment the fifth Sunday of four months of the year:

". . . Je ne compte pas ces feuilletons en plus, qui feraient deux mille quatre cents lignes, parce qu'il est impossible d'arriver à une juste mathématique dans une composition d'esprit, c'est un travail énorme qui ne me permettra pas de faire autre chose; il faut trois jours pour écrire la copie, un jour au moins pour faire le plan et trois soirées sur sept pour voir les pièces et corriger. . . . Douze mille francs pour plus de vingt-huit mille lignes me paraissent un prix juste et convenable. . . . Cette somme est nécessaire pour que je fasse ce travail avec liberté d'esprit, fraîcheur et tranquillité de manière, et servir vos intérêts et ma réputation. Vous remarquerez ensuite que je fais tous les théâtres sans exception, depuis l'Académie Royale de Musique jusqu'aux Folies Dramatiques, ce qui permet une unité de jugement que ne présentent pas les autres journaux où les théâtres lyriques et les Français sont faits par des rédacteurs payés à part. Je suis à la fois le J.J., l'Hector Berlioz, le père Delécluze, de votre établissement. . . ." (44).

In a similar manner, the history of a trip to Mont Blanc in 1868 reveals the methods of the writer. It is on the 22d of May that he writes, to Paul Dalloz, his plans for the expedition, with the announcement that without doubt it will give him the material for several interesting articles (45); the following day shows his imagination already at work:

"Il faudrait que je fusse devenu bien bête pour que le vieux Seigneur des Alpes avec sa couronne d'argent qui ne fond jamais ne m'inspirât pas quelques feuilletons chic et bien sentis destinés à l'ornement du *Moniteur universel*. . ." (46).

His enthusiasm outlasts the trip, and the articles published in *Quand on voyage* are the concrete results of his final prediction to Dalloz :

"Me voici de retour après un splendide voyage à Zermatt, au Mont Cervin et au glacier du Rhône. Je vais me mettre à l'œuvre dans cette fraîche et paisible retraite de St. Jean et j'espère t'envoyer une série de feuillets dont tu seras content. J'ai cherché un titre et nous appellerons la chose 'les Vacances du Lundi, tableaux de montagnes.' Je désire, si cela te convient, que les feuillets se suivent comme un roman. La première série comprendra le Mont-Blanc—la seconde, le Mont Cervin. J'ai l'épreuve du premier article que je t'envoierai demain . . ." (47).

Other letters of the author are occupied with calculations of the time required for writing certain articles, with the amount of space which they must occupy, etc. So Gautier writes Silvestre de Sacy that, thanks to his forced work on the *Rapport sur la poésie*, he should have it finished the following Saturday (48). In 1852, he calculates—quite erroneously—that a fortnight at Constantinople will give him ample material for his *Voyage*:

"Il n'y a pas de statues, ni de tableaux dans les villes orientales; c'est une décoration à regarder. Quant aux habitants, une fois qu'on a vu leur costume, c'est fini. Ils parlent des argots impénétrables. Il n'y a donc que des observations visuelles à faire, et tu sais ce que mon lorgnon avale d'objets à l'heure . . ." (49).

Again, the mature author finds himself able to estimate not only the time necessary for writing a given piece of work, but also the amount of space which this production will require, even though it be a work of the imagination and independent of external factors. So, of *Spirite*, he thinks that he will have ten or twelve *feuillets*, or fifteen, like *Avatar*, at most (50). His count of lines written, however, does not always agree with that of the newspaper, and there is from time to time an interchange of letters between contributor and director, in which the former makes clear, incidentally, a part of his professional procedure. He writes to Turgan thus, in regard to his articles on Russia :

"Depuis j'en ai fait partir trois autres—la traversée—l'arrivée à St. Petersbourg—la perspective Neusky—le premier (la traversée) est un peu moins long que les deux derniers, parce que je voulais finir sur un effet de panorama que je crois bien réussi. Je fais de mon mieux pour contenter mes Supérieurs et je n'ai jamais rien soigné davantage . . ." (51).

The length of these *feuilletons* was disputed; of *Jean et Jeanette* the inadequacy in length had to be acknowledged:

"Moi je pioche. Jean et Jeannette a beaucoup de succès mais j'ai été obligé d'allonger les feuilletons qui se trouvaient trop courts et c'est une besogne très difficile d'ajouter après coup à un feuilleton qui a un sens achevé. Enfin je m'en tire . . ." (52).

One sees, then, the artist and critic in the midst of his work. He is equipped with an admirable verbal facility and noteworthy power of visual and verbal memory; he writes most willingly in the midst of the turmoil of an office, under pressure of financial necessity, and with the encouragement and aid of his friends. Technical information, contemporary *facts*, are received gladly from outside sources; the author's arrangements with his editors confirm the implication that his principal care will have to do with the form, with the actual preparation of this material for publication. Even this part of the work becomes more or less mechanical; predictions as to the time to be taken, space to be filled, are ventured well in advance of the finished product, and any unforeseen changes are still in the direction of formal achievement. It is the finished technician who writes from London, in 1862:

" . . . Dans la boîte exhibitionnelle . . . j'ai pu voir un beau désordre qui n'était pas un effet de l'art. La cérémonie d'ouverture était pour une heure. Il était alors huit heures du matin. J'ai visité le bocal soigneusement prenant des notes et relevant le plan de la chose. Je me suis installé dans une boutique industrielle de connaissance et j'ai écrit au crayon une partie de mon article que je vais terminer cette nuit. Je suis las comme un chien étant resté debout 9 heures d'horloge lesté d'une simple tranche de viande froide absorbée à l'aube. Je crois que mon article sera assez curieux . . ." (53).

1. TAMPUCCI, *Poésies*, pp. 172-174; dated "Décembre 1832."
2. *La Presse*, 17 décembre 1838. The pages referred to appeared first in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*.
3. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 182.
4. *Lovenjoul* C-485-62; letter probably of 1851.
5. M. DREYFOUS, *Ce que je tiens à dire*, pp. 75-78. Cf. E. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs*, p. 10, where the same fact is attested.
6. *Journal des Goncourt*, 23 avril 1872, V, 39.
7. ALBALAT, *Le Travail du style*, pp. 283-294.

8. Lovenjoul, C-505-27; cf. A. BOSCHOT, *Chez nos poètes*, (1925), p. 192: "Dans sa prose, destinée presque toujours à remplir hâtivement de trop nombreuses colonnes de journal, il eut souvent recours à sa fantaisie primesautière, à sa verve, à son exubérante facilité de méridional, prompt à la parole, et servi par une inépuisable richesse et même une resplendissante prodigalité verbale."
 9. Lovenjoul, C-505-35, letter to Pierre Gautier, 26 février 1827.
 10. Lovenjoul, C-506-3, letter to Gautier at Seville, 12 août 1840.
 11. Lovenjoul, C-490-252, letter of the end of March, 1857.
 12. *Journal des Goncourt*, I, 181.
 13. *Ibid.*, III, 192.
 14. Lovenjoul, C-490-23, letter of June 25th, 1868.
 15. E. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 253.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
 17. V. E. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs*, *passim*.
 18. E. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs d'un enfant de Paris*, I, 312-313.
 19. PAUL PARFAIT, *Th. Gautier*, p. 228.
 20. CH. YRIARTE, *Les Portraits cosmopolites*, p. 71.
 21. MARCEL, *Essai sur Th. Gautier*, p. 5.
 22. V. E. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs*, p. 117.
 23. "Salon de 1852," 12^e article, *La Presse*, 3 juin 1852.
 24. *Salon de 1847*, p. 125. Note that he considers Corot's a singular talent, in that "ce maladroit arrive à des résultats étonnants, où n'atteint jamais la dextérité la plus consommée. . . . C'est que l'on peint avec la tête et avec le cœur encore plus qu'avec la main . . .", *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.
 25. HENRI DE RÉGNIER, *Portraits et souvenirs*, p. 79.
 26. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs*, p. 60-61.
 27. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 2.
 28. "Salon de 1844," *La Presse*, 2 avril 1844.
 29. "Salon de 1846," *Ibid.*, 3 avril 1846.
 30. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 192; Lovenjoul considers that this occurrence was due to forgetfulness on the part of Gautier.
 31. Cf. YRIARTE, *Les Portraits cosmopolites*, p. 71: "La forme versifiée l'attire, et lui qui oublie ses vers et ne garde que le souvenir du rythme et de la mesure sans se rappeler l'expression, sait par cœur les élucubrations de quelques poètes qui ne se doutent pas de l'honneur que leur fait l'un des plus grands de ce temps-ci."
- It seems at first that this statement is in contradiction to the testimony in regard to Gautier's remarkable verbal memory. However, when the manner of composition of his own poems has been taken into consideration, it will be evident that in the working-process the form—rhythm and measure—was far more constant than the expression, and it will not seem surprising that, of the many types of expression suggested and worked over, the final and definitive one should be less deeply impressed on the author than the system of rhythm and measure to which they all conformed.
32. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs*, p. 83.
 33. *Journal des Goncourt*, 28 juillet 1868, III, 221.
 34. Cf. JUDITH GAUTIER, Préface au *Capitaine Fracasse*, pp. i-ii.
 35. YRIARTE, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
 36. Lovenjoul, C-485-48.

37. V. HENRI MALO, *La Gloire du Vicomte de Launay, passim*, and *Lovenjoul* C-482.
38. H. MALO, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
39. *Lovenjoul* C-487-102, letters of August 18th, 1851.
40. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , I, 451.
41. V. SERVIÈRES, *Les Relations d'Ernest Reyer et de Th. Gautier*, p. 71-75.
42. *Lovenjoul*, C-485-220, 221. Letter to Eugène Piot at Strasbourg, 23 septembre 1837.
43. *Lovenjoul*, C-469-19. Letter of early March, 1840.
44. *Lovenjoul*, C-486-264. Letter to M. Dujarier, administrateur du journal de la Presse, 1844.
45. *Lovenjoul*, C-484-119, 22 mai 1868.
46. *Lovenjoul*, C-484-122, 23 mai 1868.
47. *Lovenjoul*, C-484-125, 10 août 1868.
48. *Lovenjoul*, C-485-332, 1^{er} avril 1867.
49. *Lovenjoul*, C-486-142, 24 juin 1852, à Louis de Cormenin. It is to this same friend that he writes, on the way to Constantinople, of his progress in finishing "Inès de las Sierras" (*cf.* BLANGUERNON, *Une amie inconnue* . . . , p. 143); and, the preceding year, of the composition of the first obelisk—eighteen quatrains, as he calculates it (*V. Lovenjoul* C-486-130, 1^{er} août 1851).
50. *Lovenjoul*, C-485-359, letter to Julien Turgan. The finished product was published in seventeen installments.
51. *Lovenjoul*, C-485-354, 355. Letter of December 16, 1858, from Saint Petersburg.
52. *Lovenjoul*, C-485-57. Letter of July 17, 1850, to Madame Ernesta Grisi.
53. *Lovenjoul*, C-484-113. Letter to Paul Dalloz, 1^{er} mai 1862.

INCEPTION

A picture of Gautier at work has been given by his friends and critics, its meaning is made clear only by a study of the production itself. The question is a triple one: from what inspiration does the author advance, to what extent and how does he document himself for his work, and what is the actual process of its composition? The inspiration of an author is in itself not a simple matter to determine, for in it are bound up, in the first instance, his whole personal preparation for writing, the spurs and the restraints to production inherent in his temperament and tendencies. From this point of view, the character of Gautier's work has already been considered in respect to general atmosphere, themes and form. Again, inspiration is in part dependent on exterior circumstances, on what may seem, of its nature, foreign to literary production. Financial necessity or, on the other hand, relative freedom from questions of money, may show its influence on habits of composition; so the exigencies of the press affected the author of *Jean et Jeannette* and of *Spirite*. Conservation of energy, also, plays its rôle in the determining of inspiration to production as in all activity. Strictly from the point of view of literary technique, however, inspiration must be looked upon in the light of the *occasion* of the work produced: given temperamental preparedness (1) upon what circumstances is the inception of the individual piece dependent? From what source does the author receive the idea of a particular work of art? Here again inspiration is complex; there is not one sole spring to action, and the conjunction of various occasions, all acceptable to the individual author, may be necessary before the work is brought into being. In this case, however, the very variety of inspiration will be indicative of the quality of mind in question, and the mingling of stimuli and their proportionate values will repay study. There is, of course, danger in the search for such occa-

sions or, rather, in the unconsidered acceptance of all possibilities as true. The finding of adequate occasions for literary work is, nevertheless, not without its interest, and their sum may well give certain definite indications as to what the author finds necessary in the way of incitement to production.

In the case of Théophile Gautier, the setting in action of the creative imagination seems to follow upon occasions of diverse kinds—of which the most prominent are the inspiration found in the specific literary production of others, that taken from works of plastic or pictorial art, that which has apparently been welded together from the manifestations of general contemporary interests, and that which has come into being from a strictly personal observation or experience. The possible literary occasion for the work of Gautier is by no means infrequent, nor is it limited to the author's own language. Thus, writers of England and of Italy, above all those of Germany, even an American (2), contribute to his production. Counson, in his article on *Dante et les romantiques français*, speaks of the *Divine Comedy* in its relation to Gautier's works, and finds it a notable inspiration of the *Comédie de la Mort*:

" . . . La mort dans la vie (V) présente un décor ressemblant singulièrement à celui du cinquième chant de *l'Enfer*:

'A travers les soupirs, les plaintes et le râle,
Poursuivons jusqu'au bout la funèbre spirale
De ses détours maudits,
Notre guide n'est pas Virgile le poète,
La Béatrix vers nous ne penche pas la tête,
Du fond du paradis.
Pour guide nous avons une vierge au teint pâle.'

"Le chemin qu'il parcourt, l'interrogatoire des grandes ombres qu'il rencontre, rappellent le voyage dantesque" (3).

Gautier himself acknowledges his debt here, and again in *Une Larme du Diable*. Here the scene between Satan and the rabbit furnishes the essentials of Satan's character as portrayed in the piece, and this character has its base in Dante's conception of Hell:

"*Le Lapin*:

C'est que vous avez sur le front, écrite en caractères rouges, une inscription terrible: Je n'aimerai jamais.

"Satanas:

Tu as lu ton Dante, Jehan Lapin? Et tu nous fais une assez mauvaise imitation du fameux vers:

Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.

Le Lapin:

En vérité, maitre, c'est écrit.

Satanas:

Il a dit vrai! Je n'aimerai jamais, jamais. Ah! comme tu te venges, Adonai! Pauvre Eloa! j'en ai pitié! mais qu'est cela près de l'amour? . . . Mes ailes sont brûlées, mais, si je pouvais aimer seulement une minute, je sens que je remonterais au ciel" (4).

England, however, is also represented in the sources of literary inspiration for this piece, according to Barton, who finds in Sterne (5) a tear of the Recording Angel which he considers significant for the work of the French author.

"There are also in *Les Jeunes-France* several cases of deliberate borrowing. . . . The first of these appropriations is from the Widow Wadman's courtship of Uncle Toby, the episode in which the widow almost brings about Toby's downfall by allowing her hand to rest lightly against his as they study together the map of the Flanders' campaign (*Tristram Shandy*, vol. VII, chap. xvi). This incident is developed at some length in 'Celle-ci et celle-là' . . ." (6).

Another English author from whom Gautier drew a certain amount of inspiration was, of course, Byron—it would have been difficult for any young writer of 1830 to escape this starting-point—and Estève finds echoes of Byronian thought in the atheistic turn of mind of Albertus and in the Italian and Iberian countenances which appear in his story, as well as in certain eloquent apostrophes which form the basis of Gautier's poems (7). *Childe Harold* also seems to offer an occasion for early verses by Gautier on the impression of desertion given by a house during the absence of its masters:

"Deserted is my own good hall,
Its hearth is desolate;
Wild weeds are gathering on the wall,
My dog howls at the gate."

"Cependant l'araignée à vos volets fermés
Suspend sa toile ronde, et la maison déserte
Semble n'avoir plus d'âme et pleurer votre perte,
Et le chien qui s'ennuie et voudrait vous revoir
Au détour du chemin va hurler chaque soir" (8).

The use of English and German sources as the occasion for Gautier's work was noted by his contemporaries as well as by later students, and after the publication of *Une Larme du diable*, the literary critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* wrote:

" . . . Les ressouvenirs du ciel, déchirant le cœur de l'ange déchu, ne sont qu'une réminiscence de Klopstock. . . . L'ange rêveur de Klopstock est transformé, dans une scène importante du drame, en un railleur cynique, qui est une autre réminiscence, une réminiscence de Goethe. . . .

"L'imitation de Goethe n'a pas, d'ailleurs, mieux réussi à M. Gautier que l'imitation de Klopstock. . . .

"Il y a dans *la Mort amoureuse* une qualité qu'il est fort rare de rencontrer chez M. Gautier. Cette qualité, c'est l'intérêt dramatique. L'invention de ce récit ne se distingue pas, sans doute, par la nouveauté. Mais il intéresse vivement, et la curiosité du lecteur est satisfaite. Nous ne reprocherons pas à *la Mort amoureuse* de rappeler la donnée du *Moine* de Lewis. . . . La donnée de *la Mort amoureuse* rappelle un grand nombre de contes allemands et anglais. Pour rajeunir cette donnée, il fallait une puissance d'exécution que l'on cherche en vain dans cette nouvelle. . . ." (9).

Retinger, however, in his recent study of the *Conte fantastique dans le romantisme français*, finds that *la Mort amoureuse* has passed to Gautier from Lewis *via* Hoffmann, with the resemblance carried to the point of borrowing the latter's favourite name "Sérapion" (10). As a matter of fact, Gautier may have owed his inspiration for this particular story to still other authors, and Heine's possible part in providing its occasion cannot be overlooked (11), but the general debt to Hoffmann is undoubted, and has been considered not only by Retinger, but also by Poulain and Breuillac. Retinger, indeed, finds that in one instance, that of the *Deux Acteurs pour un rôle*, Gautier owes much more than his point of departure to the German author:

"C'est du pur Hoffmann. C'est une simple imitation, jusque dans la langue, jusque dans la composition, jusque dans les détails. Mais, heureusement cet exemple est unique dans les contes fantastiques de Gautier" (12).

Breuillac shows that ten years earlier the young poet was already finding his inspiration in the *Tales*, when, in *Albertus*, these fantasies are referred to and their *dramatis personæ* are compared to those presented in the verses (13). The parallel inspiration of the *Nid des Rossignols* and of the *Violon de Crémone*, in the matter of death due to the making of music, is discussed by Poulain in his treatment of Gautier's German antecedents (14).

It is Poulain, again, who calls attention to the occasion for his poetical compositions which the author of *Emaux et Camées* found in Heine's *Lieder*, and in his conclusions in this matter he coincides with Betz. In the latter's *Heine in Frankreich*, the long friendship between the two poets is recorded, and the testimony of Madame Jaubert, to the effect that Gautier "était vraiment imbu des poésies et de l'esprit de l'illustre écrivain" (15), lends probability to Betz's theory of an inspiration for the first two stanzas of the two parts of "Nostalgie d'Obélisques" in Heine's "Fichtenbaum": ". . . Es entsteht so ein zweistrophiges Lied, das in dieser Gestalt erst recht seinen Ursprung nicht zu verleugnen mag" (16). Gautier's starting-point for "Le Monde est méchant . . ." in *Intermezzo* XIV ("Le monde est stupide . . .") is noted by Betz, and he and Poulain alike point to Heine for the origin of "Cærulei Oculi," one in the "Loreley", the other in the "Roi Harald Harfagar". As striking an instance of poetic inspiration is found in the use of one of Heine's *Nocturnes*, "Songe fatal", to which the "Stances" published in January, 1843, and later incorporated in *España* are notably indebted. Heine recounts the strange dream, which both fascinated him and filled him with fright, and in which he first saw, in the midst of a garden marvellous in its beauty, a lovely maiden washing a white garment:

"La belle jeune fille se hâtait à l'ouvrage, en chantant un refrain très-bizarre: 'Coule, coule, eau de la fontaine, lave-moi, lave-moi ce tissu de lin!'"

"Je m'approchai d'elle et je lui dis tout bas: 'Apprends-moi donc, ô belle et douce jeune fille, pour qui est ce vêtement blanc.'"

"Elle me répondit aussitôt: 'Prépare-toi, je lave ton linceul de mort!'" . . ."

So, in the midst of a dark forest, she appears again, striking with an axe the trunk of a great oak, and to the question of the dreamer answers that she prepares his coffin. Immediately the forest vanishes, and in the midst of a pale and bare countryside the terrifying, yet beautiful maiden is digging:

"Je m'approchai d'elle et je lui dis tout bas: 'Apprends-moi donc, ô douce et belle jeune fille, ce que signifie cette fosse?'"

"Elle me répondit bien vite: 'Sois tranquille, la fosse que je creuse, c'est ta tombe!'" . . ." (17).

So Gautier, meditating on the different parts of the earth and on the occupations of their inhabitants, finds the same melancholy thought:

"Cet arbre qui soutient tant de nids sur ses branches,
Cet arbre épais et vert, frais et riant à l'œil,
Dans son tronc renversé l'on taillera des planches,
Les planches dont un jour on fera mon cercueil!

"Cette étoupe qu'on file et qui, tissée en toile,
Donne une aile au vaisseau . . .
Linceul, revêtira mon cadavre verdi!

* * * * *

"A cette même place où mille fois peut-être
J'allai m'asseoir, le cœur plein de rêves charmants,
S'entr'ouvrira le gouffre où je dois disparaître,
Pour descendre au séjour des épouvantements!" (18).

It was not to Heine alone that Gautier turned for inspiration, nor was his need of occasion limited to the pessimistic, although in this particular direction he found additional incitement to the versification of his temperamental interests in the translations of Jean-Paul Richter published by Gérard de Nerval in 1829 and 1830. Blanguernon calls attention to this source of poetry in a parallel between the "Songe" of Jean-Paul and the funeral scene of the *Comédie de la Mort* (19), and finds that "tout le second recueil de Gautier se déroule d'ailleurs dans le cadre 'richtérien' d'une cathédrale gothique, du *Portail au Sommet de la Tour* dressée au-dessus du cimetière. Et c'est encore du chœur de la cathédrale abandonnée que Théophile Gautier, au centre de son livre, égrène les terze rime des Ténèbres, où nous écoutons maintenant l'écho direct du désespoir que Jean-Paul met sur les lèvres de Jésus. . . ." Again, Raynaud is of the opinion that Gautier "doit, comme je l'ai dit ailleurs (Les deux Allemagnes), son évolution au comte de Platen, dont il s'était fait traduire les œuvres par le littérateur Martin" (20). Perhaps, also, it was the reading of Chamisso's "Château de Boncourt", published in the *Revue poétique du XIX^e siècle* in 1835, which provided the germ of the "Château du souvenir" developed some fifteen years later, for the resemblance of ideas in the two pieces is striking when the evocation of Gautier's youth is compared to the earlier lines:

"Mes rêves me reportent à mon enfance, je secoue ma tête blanche, et vous me rappelez à vous, douces images, que je croyais depuis long-tems oubliées.

"Du milieu d'un massif d'arbres touffus, s'élève un château brillant. Je connais ses tours, ses creneaux, sa porte et son pont de pierre.

"Les lions des armoiries jettent sur moi un regard d'affection, je salue ces vieux amis, et j'entre dans la cour.

"Là est le sphinx de la fontaine, là verdit le figuier; là, derrière cette fenêtre, je rêvais mon premier rêve.

* * * * *

"Mes regards obscurcis par les larmes ne peuvent lire l'inscription; cependant une douce lumière se répand ici à travers les vitraux coloriés.

"Ainsi ton souvenir m'est resté fidèle, ô château de mes pères! . . ." (21).

So, too, in his early work, Gautier did not hesitate to draw inspiration from Bürger, and Poulain notes the resemblance to *Lenore* of the nocturnal ride of Albertus (22). Goethe's lyric poetry reappears in Gautier's work—in the "Chanson de Mignon," for example, and in the beginning of the seventh "Paysage," which betrays a memory of the "Chant du soir du voyageur" (23)—while *Faust* was drawn upon for *Albertus*, for the *Comédie de la mort*, and for the great project of the *Vieux de la Montagne*. The debt to Goethe did not end here, however, for certain portions of the *Capitaine Fracasse*, eminently national in its origin in the *Roman comique* of Scarron, yet bear the imprint of inspiration from *Wilhelm Meister*, and Baldensperger calls attention, in this connection, to Sigognac's decision to join the players, to the singular figure of Chiquita, who unites Mignon with Carmen as a child, and to certain traits of observation or of setting, while "l'arrivée des comédiens dans le castel délabré de Sigognac rappelle une semblable aventure dans W. Meister (III, 3) . . ." (24). It is perhaps not without interest here to recall that, not long before the revival of Gautier's preoccupation with the *Capitaine Fracasse* after a lapse of twenty years, the author had seen and reviewed a *Mignon*, by Gaston de Montheau, which was produced at the end of November, 1851 (25).

If, however, the *Capitaine Fracasse* in its definitive form owed its being to its author's acquaintance with foreign masterpieces, it had also to thank him for a native origin in Scarron and in Corneille (26). It was so with other literary inspirations of Gautier: Poe is at the basis of *Spirite*, but the *Imaginations de*

Monsieur Oufle and his descriptions of the "spectres qu'on appelle les femmes blanches (et qui), viennent souvent rendre des services aux hommes pour qui elles ont pris de l'affection" (27), seem to have lingered in Gautier's mind. So, also, the "Chasseur de chamois" (28), bears a resemblance to Uhland's "Chant du Berger" in its general thought of the free isolation of the "enfant de la montagne" who is likewise Uhland's hero, and, moreover, in one of the important details of the mountain life:

"Ici se forment les torrents
Que dans mes bras nerveux je prends,
Pour boire leurs flots transparents,
Avant qu'ils baignent la campagne." *Uhland* (29).

"Je n'ai pour boire, après ma chasse,
Que l'eau du ciel dans mes deux mains;
Mais le sentier par où je passe
Est vierge encor de pas humains." *Gautier*.

On the other hand, the presentation of this child of the mountain as a hunter of chamois is comparable to A. Jullien's tale, *le Chasseur de Chamois*, which appeared in the *Musée des familles* of 1834, and in which figures the old hunter who regrets his mountains, who cannot reconcile himself to the commonplace death of the valley, but who has been relegated to this fate after an attack by one of the eagles to whom the hunter in *España* compares himself:

"Ah! me disait-il. . . . Il fut un temps où je parcourais en liberté ces montagnes là-bas, ces glaciers, ces hautes vallées. . . . Maintenant je suis à peu près mort. . . . Voyez-vous, pour nous autres, la vie est là-haut tout entière: il nous faut des rocs à escalader, des précipices à franchir, des chamois à lutter avec eux d'audace et de vitesse. . . ."

The fusion of French and German occasions seems evident in the inception of this poem. As early as 1833, Gautier gives evidence of a different intermingling of material as a starting-point for his work. Before his visit to Italy (30), he wrote an article on Venice, to accompany an engraving, and on its exactness, as a product of intuitive imagination working on guide-book information, he later prided himself (31). This notice contains more than a mere description of the city: the author adds a

certain interpretation of its appearance, and reflects on the disillusion which follows after a few hours of absorption. Perhaps Madame Sophie Gay's *Venise*, published two months earlier in the *Musée des familles*, was not without its value to the young writer :

" . . . Voilà bien la Venise du poète, riche de souvenirs et belle de sa misère. Mais que la Venise du simple voyageur est différente, et que l'habitant des cités a peine à se faire à ces rues stagnantes d'où s'exhale . . . une odeur pestilentielle. . . . D'abord les yeux sont surpris par l'aspect nouveau de ces palais aquatiques, de ce pont du Rialto . . . , de ces balcons de marbre. . . . Tant de grandeur passée, tant d'obstacles vaincus inspirent cette sorte de respect qu'on porte à tous les grands travaux des hommes. Mais, ce tribut payé à la vanité humaine, comme on revient vite à l'amour de la nature. . . .

" En arrivant chez cette feue reine des mers . . . on se monte la tête . . . on se transporte en imagination dans le palais d'Armide. . . . Mais un douanier autrichien vous ramène bientôt, par son inquisition, à tout le positif du temps présent; et . . . après deux heures d'une visite . . . , vous avez déjà perdu toutes vos illusions poétiques " (32).

Gautier's conclusion indicates at least a very great similarity of thought. It is indeed evident, from even such consideration of Gautier's literary predecessors as the above, that the inception of a part of his work had certain specific sources in their writings, and a protracted study of his works from the point of view of inspiration would no doubt be most revelatory in this connection (33). The imagination of the author worked upon material so offered and found in it one of the necessary preliminaries to production.

This spur to action, this particular presentation of material, was, however, not unique in its results, and there is no evidence that it became of increasing importance with the years of writing: *Spirite* combines personal with literary provenance, just as *Venise* was given a pictorial, as well as a literary, determination. A pictorial occasion for Gautier's work is, indeed, rather frequent, and the possible influence of the sight of some work of art must be included in any consideration of the sources of his invention. It is not that Gautier confesses constantly to an artistic inspiration, as did Hebbel when he wrote to Sigmund Engländer: " Die Judith wurde durch ein Bild, das ich in der Münchener Pinakothek erblickte, in mir angeregt . . . " (34), but in view

of the circumstances in which certain poems and stories were written and the coincidence of still other pieces with the writer's knowledge of specific works of art, one comes to the conclusion that the author's imagination found a necessary occasion for his literary work in the sight of that which he, as a man, prized especially as a method of representing the beautiful. Several of his early productions, in addition to the essay on Venice, are found, for example, to have been written as commentaries to the engravings which they accompany. In this class appear *Le Nid des Rossignols*, published in the *Amulette, étrennes à nos jeunes amis*, in December, 1833, and *Laquelle des Deux*, which, according to Spaelberch de Lovenjoul, was inspired by an English engraving in the *Sélam* of the same year, and which may itself be considered as a first germ of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (35). Such, too, was the origin of *Elias Wildmanstadius*, the Jeune-France who made his first appearance in the *Annales romantiques* for 1833, and of whom Lovenjoul writes:

"Il y a des variantes dans la première version. . . : Aujourd'hui la scène se passe dans la ville de S. . . . au lieu de Nuremberg où elle se passait primitivement. Dans les *Annales romantiques*, cette nouvelle était accompagnée d'une vue de Nuremberg, ce qui expliquerait cette modification par la nécessité d'y associer la gravure et le récit" (36).

The case of the two poems, "Perplexité" and "Ballade" (J'ai tout donné pour rien) is quite the same (37); each was to have been the commentary of one of the engravings which, for the readers of 1834, made up a large part of the charm of the *Eglantine* and the *Annales romantiques* of that year.

The specific pictorial source is not always assigned to Gautier. In 1836, he writes, of his own volition, under the inspiration of a new engraving of Rubens' *Passage du Thermodon*, the poem which bears that name and which is to be compared to the prose description given in one of his *feuilletons*. Fifteen years later, in the composition of "Cærulei oculi" (38), for whose origin critics have pointed particularly to Heine, the impression of certain paintings seems to have been incorporated in Gautier's basic conception of that mysterious woman of the seas, Carlotta Grisi. As early as 1837, the critic of art remarked Lehmann's picture

of the *Fée des Eaux* (39), and in his detailed description connected this exhibit of the Salon with an engraving which, to him represented far better the poetry of Goethe's ballad:

"J'ai eu dans la main un recueil des ballades de Goethe, entourées de dessins, d'arabesques, de fleurons et de fantaisies analogues au sujet de la pièce. La ballade de la fée était accompagnée du plus charmant dessin du monde. Le jeune pêcheur, assis dans l'herbe, sur le coin du premier couplet, laissait pendre nonchalamment sa ligne au fil de l'eau,—la rivière qui occupait toute la marge, était vue de profil et coupée par le milieu, comme les maisons dans les plans d'architecture, en sorte que l'on distinguait parfaitement les racines des nénuphars et des nymphéas, dont les larges feuilles montaient s'épanouir à la surface. Des millions de poissons grands et petits s'agitaient dans cette eau en frétilant de la queue; trois jeunes filles d'une beauté ravissante, les cheveux ruisselant sur les épaules, les bras entrelacés comme un groupe de Grâces marines, se tenaient hors de la rivière jusqu'à la ceinture et arrêtaient des regards fascinateurs sur le jeune homme éperdu qui ne voyait pas sous l'épaisseur des eaux leurs cuisses couvertes d'écaille et terminées par des nageoires de morue. Le fond de l'eau présentait l'aspect le plus fantastique; c'étaient des madrépores, des plantes étoilées en forme de crabes, des coquillages, des rocailles, des coraux, tout l'ameublement obligé d'un palais d'ondines, mais cependant avec quelque chose d'horrible et de formidable. Le bleu pâle de la gravure imprimée en couleur, ajoutait à l'effet humide et surnaturel de la scène. Je crois que c'était de cette manière qu'il fallait rendre la poésie de Goethe. . . ." (40).

In the Salon of 1846, the author's attention is again called to the enchanted inhabitants of the ocean, when he sees the *Syrènes* of Kwiatowski—those pictured sirens to whom he dedicates one of his other pieces, "*Les Néréides*" (41), as in 1839 he has written as the number of his *Salon* for April 27th a poem to the "*Trois Paysagistes*," Bertin, Aligny and Corot (42), and as, still earlier, he had celebrated Louis Boulanger's *Triomphe de Pétrarque* (43). He proceeds from their description to that of another mysterious being whom Carlotta first incarnated:

"De la mer et des syrènes passons au lac, où M. Gendron fait tourner la pâle ronde des wilis . . . Quelle grâce vaporeuse, quel charme mystérieux, quel doux vertige et quelle volupté triste dans cette ronde de jeunes ombres! Carlotta elle-même. la wili par excellence, n'a pas une transparence plus aérienne, un entraînement plus chaste, une pâleur plus argentée" (44).

The link between the strange charm of the sea and the fascination of the woman, that link which is at the basis of "*Caerulei Oculi*," is made here for the poet by means of the paintings which, in his quality of art-critic, Gautier has been called upon to study and to

admire. It is in *Emaux et Camées* also that are found two other poems for which Gautier found pictorial inspiration, the "Bûchers et Tombeaux" which is a transposition of Holbein's *Danse des Morts* (45), and the "Souper des armures," of which Maxime Du Camp writes in his preface to the *Emaux et Camées*:

" . . . Une autre fois, pendant l'Exposition universelle de 1855, il traverse la galerie de peinture où il vient chercher matière à son feuilleton; il s'arrête devant l'aquarelle de G. Cattermole: *Sir Biorn aux yeux étincelants*, et tout en cheminant au long des quais pour rentrer au logis, il compose le *Souper des armures*" (46).

It is perhaps in some of his stories of ancient times that Gautier's imagination is most influenced by the pictorial occasion; *Arria Marcella* and the *Roi Candaule*, for example, seem quite dependent, for their inception, on paintings which had previously made an impression of one kind or another on the author-critic. From 1837 on the subject of the end of Pompeii had occupied his attention, and in his *Salon* for that year he spoke in no uncertain terms of Bruloff's long-heralded painting:

" . . . Il en était de même, mais à un plus haut degré, du tableau de M. Bruloff, *la Destruction de Pompéi*, toile couverte de sonnets admiratifs et de couronnes de lauriers, tant qu'elle fut en Italie, et qui sembla singulièrement surannée quand elle parut au Salon. Assurément ce tableau eût obtenu le prix décennal du temps de Guérin ou de Girodet" (47).

Guérin's painting, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1841, and of which a rather inexact advance-notice appeared in the *Artiste* (48), must also have been seen by Gautier. It is the Salon of 1850-1851, however, which on Gautier's return from Italy, where he had visited the ruins of Pompeii, provided a culminating point, a pictorial occasion, for the placing of his reworking of the old Greek legend which became *Arria Marcella* (49). He saw in this Salon a painting by Chassériau, which had received great commendation, and which he himself prized especially among the canvasses of this favourite artist. It is described by him, in the first volume on the *Beaux-Arts en Europe*, in the following terms:

"*Le Tepidarium*, dans les thermes antiques, était une salle où les baigneurs se séchaient et s'essuyaient auprès d'un brasero avant de se hasarder à l'air libre. M. Théodore Chassériau a représenté les femmes de Pompeia entou-

rant le vaste cratère de bronze à pieds de lion, où brûlent des noyaux d'olives et des bois odiférants. La salle existe encore, telle qu'il l'a peinte, dans la ville exhumée de son tombeau de cendres: nous avons vu nous-mêmes la voûte que borde une frise d'enfants et de dauphins, la lucarne qui laisse apercevoir le ciel si pur, si transparent, les Hercules de terre cuite séparant les niches à serrer les vêtements des baigneurs. Dans un coin l'on voit les tuyaux qui transmettaient la vapeur de l'hypocauste à la salle voisine. Pourtant dix-huit siècles se sont écoulés, ou peu s'en faut, depuis que les femmes de Pompeia ne se sont assises le long de ces murs sur lesquels le lézard court en frétilant la queue; quand la forme des lieux s'est conservée si intacte, il semble étrange que la vie s'en soit retirée, et l'on croit à tous moments que les anciens hôtes vont reparaitre, et, pour peu qu'on soit poète ou visionnaire, l'on jurerait les avoir vus" (50).

This allusion to an evocation of the ancient inhabitants of Pompeii is posterior to Gautier's own story, but the attachment of his theory to Chassériau's painting goes to indicate a possible earlier connection between the work of art and the later literary production,—a connection of pictorial inspiration which the reaction to Gérôme's *Intérieur grec*, exhibited in the same year, tends to confirm. Gautier gives the latter picture to the readers of his *Salon de 1850-1851*; his description of the "hétaïre, qui par ses charmes et sa richesse, semble la déesse du temple," whose beauty, half hidden, may be guessed at, so that everyone imagines it according to his dream, who, "allongée sur un lit de repos, près d'une colonne au fût teinté de rouge, attire l'œil par l'éclat de son peplus jaune clair, et les tons roux de ses cheveux roulés en torsades,"—this description itself evokes to later readers his heroine of vanished Pompeii, and to Gautier it seems that Gérôme's painting was a revelation of the possibility of resurrecting beauty in the very house of Diomedes:

"Nous arrivions de Pompéi lorsque nous avons vu l'*Intérieur grec* de M. Gérôme pour la première fois. Nous venions d'errer des heures entières dans cette ville morte dont on a soulevé le coin du linceul et qui revoit le soleil après avoir dormi deux mille ans. Notre impression était donc toute fraîche. Ces chambres dévastées auxquelles le ciel sert de plafond, ces colonnes tronquées, ces pavés de mosaïque dont les mille petits cubes se disjoignent sous la pluie, ces murailles colorées de teintes qui s'effacent, ces figures demi-nues voltigeant dans l'encadrement des arabesques, nous les avons retrouvés dans le tableau de M. Gérôme, mais à l'état vivant, avec leur éclat neuf et leur pureté intacte. Jamais restauration ou plutôt résurrection ne fut plus complète.

"Il faut que le jeune artiste ait été bourgeois de cette charmante cité italo-grecque avant l'éruption de Vésuve. . . . L'art et la science ne suffisent pas pour une pareille reconstruction du passé: il faut encore avoir été

contemporain. . . . On dirait que ce tableau a été fait par l'un des peintres qui ont orné la maison de Diomèdes et celle du poète tragique. . . ." (51).

It is not Gautier himself who points to a determining or occasional influence of contemporary paintings upon the *Roi Candaule*, but, as by Guérin's picture of Pompeii for *Arria Marcella*, so again the Salon of 1841 seems here to have provided the author with material. It is in this year, just before the publication of Gautier's tale (there is no record of its earlier composition), that there was exhibited Boissard's *Roi Candaule*. This painting, in the Venetian *genre*, was announced in the "Bruits du Salon" in an early number of the *Artiste* for that year, was mentioned some weeks later, and finally described in the fifteenth issue in such a manner as to leave no doubt of the coincidence of inspiration between painting and tale:

" . . . M. Boissard est plus riche en couleur. Sur un lit assyrien, une femme, dont le bras est mollement replié sur son front, où il jette une fort harmonieuse demi-teinte, s'est endormie toute nue, sous le mystère du rideau et se fiant à la vigilance des eunuques. Son laisser-aller est charmant, le dessin rempli d'élégance et de correction. Mais l'eunuque a courbé la tête devant le turban redouté du roi son maître; le rideau s'est entr'ouvert, et Gygès, le hardi confident, a paru, comme le raconte notre naïf La Fontaine. Le courtisan à l'anneau mystérieux montre une physionomie assez niaise; le roi Candaule n'a guère l'air que d'un satyre ou d'un habitué des tavernes du Moyen-Age. A quoi bon ce contraste exagéré, et n'était-ce pas assez pour la suite et le dénouement du drame que l'attrait de la nouveauté et la témérité de Gygès? Les étoffes dénotent un soin minutieux; toutefois il y a là une question de temps à résoudre, et la soie, enrichie surtout de tous ces dessins modernes, pourrait bien n'être qu'un grand anachronisme. M. Boissard appréciera la valeur de cette critique, s'il n'aime pas mieux répondre que c'est une sorte de licence poétique, et que tout en ce genre est permis à la fantaisie. . . ." (52).

It is to be noted that La Fontaine's rendering of the story is referred to in this article, and perhaps it is not without interest to recall that a criticism of Guignet's *Cambyse vainqueur de Psammenitis* appeared also in the *Artiste* of 1841 (53), to accompany an engraving of this exhibit of the Salon, and remarked, in describing the plate, upon Herodotus and Justinus as historians of Cambyses, son of the great Cyrus—thus calling attention to the Lydian history which Gautier used as his main source (and in contrast to the atmosphere of La Fontaine), for the story of

Gyges. As a matter of fact, the painting by Guignet may have been of more direct influence on the writer, as the pictorial occasion for a scene whose details were later acquired from Feydeau, for the picture in question is strikingly similar to the passage of the *Roman de la Momie* which describes the triumphant return of Pharoah, in its presentation of the conqueror and his procession of soldiers and slaves. It is not without probability that this scene, and those of Poussin's *Plaies d'Égypte* and his painting of the destruction of the serpents by Moses' rod,—and even that of Estéban Marc's *Passage de la mer Rouge* (of which Gautier himself wrote in 1837) (54)—formed a nucleus of pictorial representation from which the invention of the author later benefited. Such a pictorial influence is felt by Lehtonen to have been of importance in the occasion of the *Capitaine Fracasse* (55), and Gautier, in his autograph manuscript of *Mademoiselle Dafné*, gives this tale a name which leaves no doubt as to its inspiration, when he entitles it *Mademoiselle Dafné de Boisfleury; eau-forte dans la manière de Piranèse* (56), and in the course of the story pictures the etching which has haunted him through many years (57) and which now stands among the very bases of his literary production:

" . . . Cet escalier, qui montait et descendait et n'en finissait pas, obstrué parfois de décombres, rappelait au prince ce cauchemar à l'eau-forte où Piranèse a représenté une échelle infinie de degrés serpentant à travers de noires et formidables architectures, et gravie péniblement par un homme qu'on revoit à chaque palier plus las, plus délabré, plus maigre, plus spectral et qui, arrivé, après tant d'efforts, au haut de cette babel d'escaliers partant du centre de la terre, reconnaît avec un affreux désespoir qu'elle aboutit à une trappe impossible à soulever. . . ." (58).

Gautier was not outside the current of his time in his admiration for Piranesi; Pompeii and Egypt were preoccupations of the years during which he wrote, and, indeed, his inspiration coincided in many cases with contemporary interests in painting and literature. *Omphale*, one of his earliest publications (February 1834), and a tale which is not unlike the *Toison d'or* in its theme of the fascination of the work of art, is based on a fable treated by poets and painters of all times (59); Raoul-Rochette lists, in a publication of 1833 (60), an ancient group of Hercules

and Omphale of which a reproduction had just been published, and which is to be compared to Gautier's conception of the tapestry, while one may note at the end of the 18th century a "Robe à l'Omphale" described by the *Journal des Dames de la Mesangère* (61). A few years before the writing of *Partie Carrée* there was played in Paris the *Eléphants de la Pagode*, which set in action Gautier's imagination to such an extent that, in his *feuilleton*, he describes what this spectacle of India should have been—what a struggle and escape of the elephants might have been presented, etc. (62). The *Pharaons* of the preceding Spring did not become a subject for the critic's own work until many years later, but its appearance indicates contemporary visual interest at the Odéon (63). The preoccupation with the exotic had shown itself earlier in the introduction of Chinese settings on the stage, in the translations of Eastern literature, and in numerous imitations of the productions of China in French writing: in this interest also, Gautier found inspiration. He reports on a performance of *D'Inghuis Khan* in 1837, describing all the first scene with its Chinese city, porcelain towers, etc.:

" . . . Une réalisation parfaite de la Chine, que nous rêvons d'après les tasses, les soucoupes, les pots et les paravents; seuls documents authentiques que nous ayons de ce mystérieux et singulier pays. . . . D'Inghuis Kan sera le grand succès de la saison au boulevard " (64).

It was two years earlier that Gautier had published his "Sonnet" inspired by the very cups and fans which now seem to him insufficient (65), but before that date the popular mind was quite open to Chinese productions: the tales translated by Rémusat had long been published; S.-Henry Berthoud, to whom Gautier in 1840 referred his plan for the *Pavillon sur l'Eau*, had presented in his *Contes Misanthropiques* a Chinese anecdote, *Lang-Mao-Li; La Pantomime—Chez les Chinois* had been dealt with by Bouchardy (66) and Stanislas Julien, in the short stories accompanying *Tchao-Chi-Kou-Sal*, had included the translation of two poems whose whole atmosphere is closely comparable to that of the "Sonnet" and "Chinoiserie" (67).

The use of contemporary interests in the choice of his settings is shown in other than Gautier's Chinese poems and legend.

Madame Sophie Gay's *Venise* has already been noted, and the Venice of Alfred de Musset is to be remembered in the background of the "Carnavale" of the *Emaux et Camées*, as well as Paganini's performances in the "Variations" which Gautier had heard in Paris. It is Musset, again, who issues an invitation to the desert in "Le Lever" (68) of which "La Fuite" (69) seems Gautier's echo, and the latter's song of the sailors (70) reflects a sentiment of romantic distance to be found in earlier poetry, such as Marmier's "Sur Mer" (71) and, in part, Galloix's "La Vie" (72). A still greater removal from ordinary life, transposed into literature, is shown in Gautier's *Club des Haschichins* and also in *Le Thériaki—extase orientale*, where Berthoud describes for his readers the sensations of ecstasy—sounds of music, undulations, balancing, impressions of lightness—induced by opium (73). Not only Victor Hugo, but also Berthoud in his *Agib ou les Souhais—conte arabe* (74), and the Baron Creuzé de Lesser in his imitation of Thomas Moore, *La Rançon de la Péri* (75), bring into the years preceding the composition of *La Mille et deuxième Nuit* a subject which, in its turn, inspires Gautier, and which is further mentioned in a passage of Quinet's *Ahasvérus*, very generally suggestive for the exotic writing of the young *feuilletoniste*:

"Fils de roi, venez avec nous dans notre palais tout luisant de pierreries. Nos éléphants vous porteront dans des palanquins de soie. Nos peuples tiendront votre parasol sur votre tête. Des pèris de la Perse, habillées de diamant, vous berceront d'amour, mieux que votre mère dans votre étable. Du fond des citernes, du milieu des lacs, des avatars aux corps de vierges vous chanteront des chansons pour dormir; et des sphinx couronnés de bandelettes vous conteront, le soir, dans le désert, des histoires plus vieilles que le monde" (76).

Still more definite are certain suggestions of plots which are present in contemporary interests and become the occasion for Gautier's own invention. Berthoud, again, serves as one of the channels: *L'Ami de mon oncle Bertrand* finds its point of departure in the legend of Candaule, while *Les Jouissances de la Mort* present a scene from the *Roman comique* of Scarron (77), and *La Prima Donna* a plot which is the inverse of that of the *Nid des Rossignols*, in that the heroine, deprived of singing,

languishes away, while her hands become thin and sinister and red stains appear in her cheeks (78). The climax of *Albertus*, in the extinction of Veronica as a beautiful being and her resumption of a witch's ugliness, is completely in the popular tradition of the day, and Berthoud recounts in one of his collections of legends no less than three *dénouements* of this variety (79). To *la Cafetière*, on the other hand, should be compared Berthoud's tale of the young girl who died in consequence of a ball (80) as well as the "Fantômes" of Victor Hugo (81). A few years later *Fortunio* gives a rather faint and entirely unphilosophical response to another stirring of popular interest which had received treatment, for example, in *Sakontala à Paris* by Eusèbe de Salles (82), but while contemporary study was directed to the two subjects, Gautier's imagination seems to have been more easily involved in the question of Fortunio's love for the Javanese and for the Parisian than in the psychology of the young girl at the ball, and his development of the theme thus diverges further from the preceding models. The same use of occasion seems to have been made for the idea of *Jettatura*, which was largely present in the thought of the times (83), and which the author, with his own interest in this and all superstitions, has worked into a personal composition.

Still other themes which, in their possibility of treatment, interested the young writer, and which he kept basically in his production, were those of unusual forms of love:—the retrospective and the pictorial. That these were for him subjects for invention, finding their occasion in his intellectual environment as well as in his personal inclinations, seems probable from their presence in the writings of the time. Retinger, for example, speaks of retrospective love in connection with Gérard's *Roi Soliman*:

" . . . De même que Faust s'éprend d'Hélène, morte il y a des siècles, de même Gérard de Nerval est amoureux d'une créature légendaire, de la belle et séduisante Balkiss. . . ." (84).

It is interesting, again, to compare to the *Toison d'Or* a story by Félix Pyat, *Murillo*, which appeared in the *Rameau d'or* of 1835, where Gautier's poem "Mirage" was first published. This tale

presents the young artist, who as yet is not conscious of his devotion to beauty in art but whom his lovely young wife cannot wholly inspire. The poor Paquita, in her effort to win him, gives herself a rival more dangerous than all the charming women of the Prado, for she has her portrait painted for him by the great artist, Don Juan de Castille.

"A la vue de ce tableau délicieux, Murillo jeta un cri d'admiration ou d'amour. Il regarda longtemps cette toile animée, sans rien entendre, sans rien dire. . . . Il était tout à la toile; il allait et venait, toujours tourné en face de la toile, s'approchant, reculant sans la perdre de vue, il la couvrait du regard, et la toile, à quelque distance qu'il fût, le suivait toujours, le regardait toujours, lui souriait toujours d'un sourire fin et doux. . . ."

Paquita's cause was hopeless, and after her languishing death, the lover of beauty who had deserted her for a portrait became himself a great painter, for

"Murillo était artiste, elle n'en savait rien! Dans cette dévotion si entière au divin portrait il entraînait bien un peu d'amour pour les traits délicieux de Paquita, malheureusement trop flattée par le peintre; mais la grande solution du problème, c'était l'art. Alors tout le trop-plein de ce cœur, toute cette poésie dépensée au vent, toute cette flamme gaspillée, cette âme, si riche et si pleine, se concentra soudain au seul profit de l'art: force interne et cachée qu'il ne soupçonnait guère, sentiment profondément enfoui comme la poudre qui dort dans un coin de la sainte-barbe, jusqu'à ce qu'elle éclate, vivifiée par une étincelle. . . ." (85).

A few months later, in April 1836, there appeared in *Ariel*, that romantic periodical of which Gautier was the art-critic, *Un Songe* of the Marquis de la Grange, in which he recounts, drawing the parallel to Pygmalion and Galatea, a garden-scene where contemplative ecstasy and passion aroused to life a statue of bronze and of marble. Gautier, thus, in the months preceding his first journey—the tour of Belgium with Gérard from which he brought back the *Toison d'or*, could not well have escaped the theme of the plastic-pictorial inspiration of love. His imagination on this subject, as well as on that of retrospective love, must have been further stimulated by the *Nuits florentines* of Heine, whose publication coincided with that of *Un Songe*. It is noteworthy that in this article the young Frenchman's friend speaks of the *jettatore* and its influence on Bellini (86), and that he gives also the description of the *willis* from which Gautier later drew

his ballet *Giselle* (87). The principal interest of Heine's tale, however, lies in its confirmation of the contemporary preoccupations which stimulated the admirer of the Antwerp Magdalen to literary invention:

" . . . Depuis ce moment, une étonnante passion pour les statues de marbre s'est développée dans mon âme; et, ce matin encore, j'en ai ressenti l'irrésistible puissance. . . .

" Les femmes peintes, continua Maximilien après une pause, m'ont toujours moins vivement intéressé que la nature de marbre. Une fois seulement je devins amoureux d'un tableau. C'était une admirable madone, dont j'avais fait la connaissance dans une église à Cologne sur le Rhin. . . . Mais cet état ne dura pas longtemps, et je quittai presque sans cérémonie la sainte vierge, quant j'eus fait dans le musée de Cassel la rencontre d'une nymphe grecque qui me retint longtemps captif dans ses chaînes de marbre.

" . . . Et n'avez-vous donc aimé jamais que des femmes sculptées ou peintes? dit en ricanant Maria.

" . . . Oh! j'ai aimé aussi des femmes mortes, répondit Maximilien sur les traits duquel se répandit un grand sérieux. . . ." (88).

Gautier's response to the interests of his time is not visible in the working-over of situation and plot only; his acceptance of contemporary points of view,—as to subjects for amusement at one extreme, as to philosophy of life at the other,—provides occasion for parts of his production. In Musset's *Suzon*, the after-dinner discussion of mistresses is comparable to a scene of "Sous la table" (89), and in *Fortunio* the scholar's gold-fish play a rôle similar to that of the fish of Doctor Huytlen, in the "Marchand de Tulipes" of *Gaspard de la Nuit* (90). Bertrand, in this book which was in the hands of Gautier's editor Renduel from 1836 on (although it was not published until 1841), presents his erudite doctor as a colourist:

"Nul bruit, si ce n'est le froissement de feuillets de vélin sous les doigts du docteur Huytlen, qui ne détachait les yeux de sa bible jonchée de gothiques enluminures que pour admirer l'or et le pourpre de deux poissons captifs aux humides flancs d'un bocal . . ."

M. V***, whom Musidora consulted, to no profit, for learned instruction, has more material interests, although the sensations recorded by his historian are less varied than those of the scene in *Gaspard*:

"Il était debout devant la cheminée, dans l'attitude de la plus véhémement contemplation; il tenait entre le pouce et l'index un petit morceau d'échaudé dont il faisait tomber de temps en temps quelques miettes dans un bocal

rempli d'une eau claire et diamantée, où se jouaient trois poissons rouges. Le fond du vase était garni de sable fin et de coquilles.

"Un rayon de jour traversait ce globe cristallin, que les mouvements des trois poissons nuançaient de teintes enflammées et changeantes comme l'iris du prisme; c'était réellement un très-beau spectacle, et un coloriste n'eût pas dédaigné d'étudier ces jeux de lumière et ces reflets étincelants, mais M. V * * * ne faisait nullement attention à l'or, à l'argent et à la pourpre dont le frétillement des poissons teignait tour à tour le prison diaphane qui les enfermait.

"Césarine, dit'il avec l'air le plus sérieux et le plus solennel du monde, le gros rouge est trop vorace, il avale tout et empêche les autres de profiter; il faudra le mettre dans un bocal à part" (91).

In a similar manner, the Parisian wall-flower interests Bertrand and the young Gautier (92). This preoccupation of a Joseph Delorme is echoed more artificially, though no less in accordance with the point of view of the times, in Théophile's cry for a simple love rather than riches, and his "Gazhel," and especially the verses of "J'ai tout donné pour rien" (93), should be compared to Pétrus Borel's "Fille du Baron", which was published in the *Rhapsodies* of 1832 and dedicated to "Théophile Gautier, poète" (94), and to Victor Hugo's *Ballade IX*, "Ecoute-moi, Madeleine" (95). It is Pétrus Borel again who voices an inspiration dealt with by Gautier in "Fatuité," when he writes in his "Désespoir":

"Pourtant bout en mon sein la sève de la vie;
Femmes! mon pauvre cœur est pourtant bien aimant,
J'ai vingt ans, je suis beau, je devrais faire envie,
J'aurais dû plaire au moins, moi, si courtois amant;
Toutes m'ont repoussé. . . . Fatal isolement!"

The later verses, with their contrast of attitude, seem to have found here their occasion:

"Je suis jeune; la pourpre en mes veines abonde;
Mes cheveux sont de jais et mes regards de feu,
Et, sans gravier ni toux, ma poitrine profonde
Aspire à pleins poumons l'air du ciel, l'air de Dieu.

Plus d'une m'a remis la clef d'or de son âme;
Plus d'une m'a nommé son maître et son vainqueur;
J'aime, et parfois un ange avec un corps de femme
Le soir descend du ciel pour dormir sur mon cœur.

"On sait mon nom; ma vie est heureuse et facile;
J'ai plusieurs ennemis et quelques envieux. . . ." (96).

More serious subjects of contemporary occasion may also be sought, and a certain parallel of themes between Gautier, the avowedly-unphilosophical, and Alfred de Vigny, points to the acceptance, by the former, of all matter which came to his hand. Vigny's rendering of the words of Lamennais concerning the failure of the Church, Christ's lack of power, the wheel of life, etc., should be compared to "Ténèbres" (97); the "Bouteille à la Mer" coïncides in expression with Gautier's feeling of impermanency (98), and "Ténèbres" again echoes the older poet in its description of the mounting flood, of the red sun and the loss of the innocents, to be found in his "Déluge". (99) So, also, the *Comédie de la Mort* expresses a thought on Gautier's part which is quite in accord with the spirit of Hugo's "Denouement":

"Sentir qu'on a passé sans laisser plus de marque
Qu'au dos de l'Océan le sillon d'une barque,
Que l'on est mort pour tous;
Voir que vos mieux aimés si vite vous oublient,
Et qu'un saule pleureur aux longs bras qui se plient
Seul se plaigne pour vous." (Gautier).

"Malheureux le mortel qui meurt, triste victime,
Sans qu'un frère sauvé vive par son trépas,
Sans refermer sur lui, comme un romain sublime,
Le gouffre où se perdent ses pas!
Infortuné le peuple, en proie à l'anathème,
Qui voit, se consumant lui-même,
Périr son nom et son orgueil,
Sans que toute la terre à sa chute s'incline,
Sans qu'un beau souvenir reste sur sa ruine,
Comme un flambeau sur un cercueil!" (Hugo) (100).

Philothée O'Neddy, or Théophile Dondey, that friend of the young Gautier whose signature was changed to preserve his identity, also wrote of death:

"Sous la tombe muette oh! comme on dort tranquille!
Sans changer de posture, on peut, dans cet asile,
Des replis du linceul débarrassant sa main,
L'unir aux doigts poudreux du squelette voisin.
Il est doux de sentir des racines vivaces
Coudre à ses ossemens leurs nœuds et leurs rosaces,
D'entendre les hurrahs du vent qui courbe et rompt
Les arbustes plantés au-dessus de son front.
C'est un ravissement quand la rosée amie,
Diamantant le sein de la côte endormie,

"A travers le velours d'un gazon jeune et doux,
 Bien humide et bien froide arrive jusqu'à vous.
 Là, silence complet; *far-niente* sans borne.
 Plus de rages d'amour! le cœur, stagnant et morne,
 Ne se sent plus broyé sous la dent du remords.
 —Certes, l'on est heureux dans les villes des morts" (101).

To him certain stanzas of the *Comédie* seem a direct reply:

"Peut-être le tombeau n'est-il pas un asile
 Où, sur son chevet dur, on puisse enfin tranquille
 Dormir l'éternité,
 Dans un oubli profond de toute chose humaine,
 Sans aucun sentiment de plaisir ou de peine
 D'être ou d'avoir été.

"Peut-être n'a-t-on pas sommeil; et quand la pluie
 Filtre jusques à vous, l'on a froid, l'on s'ennuie
 Dans sa fosse tout seul.
 Oh! que l'on doit rêver tristement dans ce gîte
 Où pas un mouvement, pas une onde n'agite
 Les plis droits du linceul.

"Impuissance et fureur! Être là, dans sa fosse,
 Quand celle qu'on aimait de tout son amour, fausse
 Aux beaux serments jurés,
 En se raillant de vous, dans d'autres bras répète
 Ce qu'elle vous disait, rouge et penchant la tête,
 Avec des mots sacrés.

"La mort ne serait plus le remède suprême;
 L'homme, contre le sort, dans la tombe elle-même
 N'aurait pas de recours,
 Et l'on ne pourrait plus se consoler de vivre,
 Par l'espoir tant fêté du calme qui doit suivre
 L'orage de nos jours" (102).

This pessimism of the *Comédie de la Mort* is echoed in some of the verses of the "Portail" which opened the volume published in 1838, in "Ténèbres" and "Thébaïde" which are included in it, in the sonnets of "Destinée" and "la Caravane," etc. Contemporary poetry shows plainly the occasion for literary expression of this one of Gautier's temperamental interests, from the moment when Nestor de Lamarque wrote:

"C'est la *Nécessité*. Faut-il subir sans cesse
 Tous ses injustes châtiments?
 A ses fatales lois plier notre faiblesse,
 Comme d'aveugles instruments?
 Et tournoyer toujours sous la main qui nous presse
 Dans le cercle de nos tourments?" (103).

through the "Désenchantement et Aridité" of Alphonse de Flaquais (104) and the simple "Désenchantement" of Charles de Rosières (105), to the "Malheur" of de Peyronnet:

"Si la vie, en effet, n'est qu'un souffle et qu'un rêve;
Si venu du néant, au néant il s'achève;
Si l'abîme est au bout de cet étroit chemin;
.
Si l'erreur elle-même au sein de Dieu repose;
Si son esprit nous ment en tout ce qu'il propose;
Si dans ce monde vain, qu'orna sa vanité,
Le temps seul est à l'homme, et non l'éternité,
Qu'importe la vertu, qu'importe aussi le crime?" (106).

This response to contemporary moods is only one of the connections between Gautier's writings and his generation, for, even in addition to the *Voyages*, his original work demonstrates an occasion in his actual surroundings. "España" is complete testimony on this subject, but it is by no means unique in its evidence. As Maxime Du Camp writes:

"... Il . . . ne dédaigne point la note moderne. . . .
"C'est là, en effet, un des caractères de la poésie de Théophile Gautier. Quel que soit le sujet qu'il traite, quels que soient les soins qu'il donne à la forme, il est toujours de son temps; certains mots, certaines images empruntées à des faits contemporains équivalent pour ses vers à un acte d'état civil et déterminent la date de leur naissance. Une scène dont il est le témoin et que nul ne remarquerait, un objet qu'il aperçoit, un incident, un rien l'émeuvent et font ressonner les cordes de sa lyre toujours prête à vibrer. . . ." (107).

The use which Gautier makes of his observations is interesting. Claretie, for example, writes of the literary inspiration of *Jean et Jeannette*:

"Si on eût pressé davantage le bon Théo pour savoir comment lui vint l'idée de son conte rococo *Jean et Jeannette*, il n'est pas malaisé de pressentir qu'il eût pu en désigner la source dans le théâtre de Marivaux, dans cette comédie inspirée du théâtre danois, *le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard*.
"Le souvenir de Marivaux est une hantise dans ce roman" (108).

The quotations of parallel passages, in addition to the analysis of the underlying idea, show plainly this resemblance, but, for Gautier's impregnation with the theme, it is noteworthy that Marivaux's comedy had been presented in April 1836 at the theatre of the Hôtel Castellane, in the progress of which the young

writer was interested as a critic, and also as a friend of both its directors, the Duchesse d'Abrantès and Madame Sophie Gay. So, likewise, theatrical representations seem to have had a part in the up-building of the *Capitaine Fracasse*; to Jules Janin, Gérard de Nerval, Gautier, Monnier, etc., Debureau was an incarnation of the times which Scarron describes and which Gautier presents anew (109), and the *Gitana*, which was presented at the theatre of the *Gymnase* in February, 1839, is based on one of Tallemant des Réaux's tales which anticipates strikingly a character of the later romance:

" . . . C'est l'histoire de la belle Liance, bohémienne sage comme une actrice d'aujourd'hui, dont la vertu scandalisa tous les raffinés du temps, et qui alla demander au roi Louis XIII la grâce d'un mari idiot et voleur qui la battait et qu'elle adorait suivant l'usage" (110).

It is otherwise, and directly, that Gautier finds inspiration in Giulia Grisi and in la Petra Camara; their appearances on the stage are avowedly the occasions of "La Diva," in the *Comédie de la Mort*, and of the second part of "Inès de las Sierras," in the *Emaux et Camées* (111).

The actor and the actress, the diva and the dancer are not alone in furnishing prototypes for Gautier's creation: his observation extends to his personal friends and surroundings, and furnishes thus the occasion for still further invention. Lardan- chet calls attention to the strong resemblance between Lassailly, who, with the young Gautier, later published the short-lived *Ariel*, and that creation, "le Jeune-France moyen-âge":

" . . . Lassailly, c'est le premier public d'*Hernani*, c'est toute la 'Jeune-France': l'halluciné Onuphrius du roman, le Jovard à la fois féroce et débonnaire; le gothique Elias Wildmanstadius, retardatoire d'un autre siècle dans le sien; le fanfaron Rodolphe, matamore d'immoralité, toute cette population, moitié lyrique et moitié démente du livre de Gautier. . . ." (112).

Lassailly, however, was not unique as a type: other contemporary artists, whom Janin described at the time Gautier was writing, may well have given material for the latter's heroes.

"En fait d'artiste, j'oubliais l'artiste à la manière de Sterne. Le contemplatif, le rêveur, le grave historien des petites choses, suivant à perdre haleine le rien dans toutes ses formes, occupé de son, d'air, de bruits légers, d'ondulations dans l'onde, d'un grain de sable; faisant un drame avec une

tabatière de corne ou un bouquet fané, appelant un notaire pour acheter une paire de bas, Yorick en un mot, Yorick sous toutes les formes, Yorick notre ami, notre auteur favori, notre rêveur, il sera là . . . ; il n'y a pas de journal, il y a très-peu de livres sans Yorick.

"Après Yorick, Théodore; après Sterne, Hoffmann. C'est une découverte toute moderne que le fantastique. C'est une nouvelle source d'émotions que l'artiste fantastique, le fantasque, qui remplace l'arlequin usé. . . . Singulier animal qui se vautre ou qui vole, qui rit ou qui pleure, qui fait l'amour ou qui égratigne; un cauchemar est son inspiration la plus puissante, le rêve est son état naturel, l'ivrognerie est sa vie, le son est sa folie; grand enfant souvent niais, quelquefois sublime; il est de toute les opinions, de tous les partis, de toutes les vérités, de tous les mensonges, de tous les écots, ne payant jamais le sien. L'artiste fantastique n'a pas été encore défini; c'est de l'art et un vice de l'art pour faire pardonner le vice, un vice pour servir de relief à l'art. Plus il y a d'art plus il faut de folie: *le neveu de Rameau*, par exemple, et *la danse des Morts*, Hoffmann et Boulanger. . . ." (113).

The Jeunes-France are faithful transcriptions of these companions of 1830. Their successor, Fortunio, introduces into his record the Eastern Soudja-Sari. She is described as "de la race de ces terribles Javanaises, de ces gracieux vampires qui boivent un Européen en trois semaines, et le laissent sans une goutte d'or ou de sang, plus aride qu'un citron dont on a fait de la limonade" (114). Twenty-five years later Gautier writes, in connection with Hawthorne's tales, of the doctor's daughter whose love was fatal to all who came within its power: ". . . On dirait une de ces Javanaises vampires d'amour, succubes diurnes, dont la passion tarit en quinze jours le sang, les moelles et l'âme d'un Européen" (115). It seems permissible to see, in the original description and in the vivid reminiscence, prototypes who enlivened the Paris of 1837. *Fortunio*, again furnishes further evidence of its author's use of the observational occasion, and in two cases at least Gautier appears to have employed material appearing in his surroundings during the very course of publication of his story. It is in the last twenty pages that one finds the description of *Eldorado*, Fortunio's secluded palace with its great court surrounded by marble columns, filled with orange trees, palms, aloes, and all kinds of tropical plants.

"Pour aider à comprendre ce miracle, nous dirons que l'Eldorado était un palais sous cloche.

"Fortunio, frileux comme un Indou, pour se composer une atmosphère à sa guise, avait d'abord fait construire une serre immense qui englobait complètement son nid merveilleux.

"Une voûte de verre lui tenait lieu de ciel; cependant il n'était pas privé de pluie pour cela: quand il désirait changer le beau invariable de son atmosphère de cristal, il commandait une pluie, et il était servi sur-le-champ. D'invisibles tuyaux criblés de trous faisaient grésiller une rosée de perles fines sur les feuilles ouvertes en éventail ou bizarrement découpées de sa forêt vierge" (116).

About two months before the publication of this passage, Gautier had written in *La Presse* an account of the new conservatory of the Jardin des Plantes, which he had observed with great interest on account of its novelty in placing before Parisians the exotic foliage of the tropics, and also on account of the purely physical charm of its temperature (117). Such a combination of delights was to him necessarily characteristic of an Eldorado, although it was not the sole requirement of the perfect dwelling. It was possible, indeed, to have in this desirable green-house method of construction both movement and colour, through the flying of birds and the preening of peacocks, but even then, Gautier's artistic sense was not satisfied:

"Un inconvénient obligé de cette construction était de ne pas avoir de point de vue; Fortunio, esprit très-inventif et que rien n'embarrassait, avait paré à cet inconvénient: les fenêtres de son salon donnaient sur des dioramas exécutés d'une façon merveilleuse et de l'illusion la plus complète.

"Aujourd'hui, c'était Naples avec sa mer bleue, son amphithéâtre de maisons blanches; son volcan panaché de flammes, ses îles blondes et fleuries; demain, Venise, les dômes de marbre de San-Georgio, la Dogana ou le Palais Ducal; ou bien une vue de Suisse, si le seigneur Fortunio se trouvait ce jour-là d'humeur pastorale; le plus souvent c'étaient des perspectives asiatiques, Bénarès, Madras, Masulipatnam ou tout autre endroit pittoresque" (118).

Fortunio is given the credit for this splendid invention, but his historian (who was in many ways his model) did not evolve it from his own imagination. Here again, the occasion is found in the observation of his surroundings. The festival of the Hôtel de Ville provided Gautier not only with the idea of utilizing a court as a living-room (an idea which he combined with his earlier observations of the conservatory for the ideal house-construction), but also with the very means of avoiding the disadvantages inherent to this method of building: an especial use of the *diorama*:

" . . . Cette fête a eu cela de remarquable que l'on a dépensé deux idées nouvelles, chose rare partout, principalement dans une fête, et plus difficile à trouver que des millions. . . . La première est celle du diorama de *Ludwigslust*.

" Dans un boudoir tendu de mousseline rose . . . trois fenêtres tenues mystérieusement fermées jusqu'à là se sont ouvertes, et un paysage plein d'air et de lumière s'est déroulé devant les yeux. . . . L'imitation ne peut pas être poussé plus loin, c'est un trompe-l'œil parfait. . . .

" Il me semble que cette idée de fenêtres ouvertes sur un diorama pourrait être autre chose qu'un à propos ingénieux. A Paris surtout où les points de vue sont si rares, où l'on a presque tous les jours devant les yeux des murailles du noir le plus triste ou du jaune le plus insupportable, qui empêche de faire donner les fenêtres des salons sur un diorama représentant quelque beau paysage fleuri et verdoyant? Je suis étonné que quelque millionnaire parisien n'ait pas eu cette fantaisie. Ne serait-il pas charmant de faire changer tous les jours la vue de ses fenêtres?—d'aller de Rome à Naples, de Naples à Messine, et où l'on voudrait, sans changer de place?

" L'autre idée . . . n'est pas moins originale; ils ont retourné une architecture, et d'une cour fait une salle. . . . Vous savez qu'il y a dans l'Hotel de Ville une cour d'un assez bon style, moitié vénétien, moitié Renaissance, entourée de deux rangs d'arcades. Voici ce que ces Messieurs ont fait; ils ont établi un plancher au premier étage, collé de la sorte sur les colonnes, ajusté un toit, planté une fontaine au milieu, et leur salle a été fabriquée. . . ." (119).

The young author was ready to use, as occasion for his invention, the observations made in his daily life.

The experience of his surroundings, transmuted into his written work, may be compared also to the utilisation which Gautier made of his personal feelings and the incidents of his life, for the purposes of his literary production. It is not necessary to dwell on certain lyrical characteristics of his poetry, on the inspiration which he found in Carlotta Grisi for many poems of *Emaux et Camées*, for *Spirite*, for several of his ballets; the sonnets to the Princess Mathilde also speak for themselves. "Contralto" (120) found its occasion in Ernesta Grisi, and Blanguernon in *Une Amie inconnue de Théophile Gautier* points to another source of verse in his personal affections. A somewhat more intangible state of feeling was apparently at the basis of Gautier's literary use of retrospective love, which had been foreshadowed in *la Cafetière*, and which reached its culmination in *Arria Marcella*: Lafond records the reminiscences of the Baron de Claye, proprietor of the château d'Amou, in La Chalosse, with regard to the poet's visit there in 1844:

" . . . Théophile Gautier . . . , en admirant un délicieux pastel de Sophie de Poudens, marquise de Caupenne, se prit pour elle d'une passion rétrospective. . . . Le baron de Claye ne revit plus, dès lors, le poète; il ne l'oublia jamais: il nous l'a bien souvent dépeint sous l'aspect d'un jeune homme maigre, osseux, les traits accentués, l'œil chercheur et beau, avec de longs cheveux sur les épaules, qui portait ordinairement une redingote marron, un gilet à ramages et une cravate lâche" (121).

There are, in addition to love of one kind or another, still other emotional transcriptions of Gautier in his work. The "España," for example, gives literary form to his personal reaction to the incidents of his early travels in Spain, while the actual events of his journeyings provide a large part of the material for his journalistic writings, and his *Voyages*, in spite of their apparent objectivity, are a very personal product. *Militona* is, later, based on the findings of his first visit to Spain, and the play which Gautier wrote in conjunction with Siraudin, in 1843, utilizes individual experiences which have little connection with the visual renderings for which his *Voyages* are noted. It deals, rather, with matter-of-fact subjects—which, nevertheless, Gautier the traveller had felt at the time of their experience—such as the lack of provisions in the Spanish inns and the poorly-furnished bedrooms, reminiscences of Spaniards: the servant proud with all the pride of Spain, who had been a member of a band of brigands, —these same brigands who complain of the difficulties of their life,—and, finally, it gives an echo of the traveller himself. Thus, in the person of Reniflard, there is the Gautier who recounts that he has devoured Hugo, Musset, Mérimée and Byron, and has dreamed of Gothic cities, of Moorish alcazars, so vividly that he has come to Spain to search out and to study this local colour. It is, again, the homesick Gautier of the last pages of the *Voyage en Espagne*, who exclaims, in the third act of the play in question:

"O ma patrie! quand pourrai-je pôlir, avec les semelles de mes bottes, tes asphaltes et tes bitumes! . . ." (122).

Perhaps it is also Gautier the traveller who inspires a part of the *Roman de la Momie*, for the vivid account of the plague of grasshoppers which has its place there seems due to more than the words of *Exodus*. It is, in fact, comparable to the fragments

of the *Voyage en Algérie* which Gautier wrote in 1845-1846, where he recounts in great detail the hail of grasshoppers which he had experienced, when the insects "tombaient sur nos chapeaux avec un bruit de grelons" (123). In a letter of 1852, from Constantinople, the author of the *Roman de la Momie* foreshadows, from an Oriental setting, another part of this composition of 1857 and connects it with his personal feelings, when he says to Paul de Saint-Victor:

" . . . Cormenin me dit que vous vous occupiez d'une nouvelle au natrum aussi bitumineuse que si vous étiez un parascithe inciseur de cadavre. C'est bien; embaumez la momie de Cléopâtre dans plus de myrrhe, de cinname, et de benjoin que n'en contient le *Sir Hasirim*. Les montagnes d'aromate de votre style oriental conserveront quelques mille ans de plus le corps divin de la belle Reine dont moi aussi j'ai été amoureux. . . ." (124).

It is interesting to note that, shortly after his return from this same journey, Gautier saw a revival of Rossini's *Moïse*, and wrote of it a *compte-rendu* which expresses very clearly his own interest in the subject portrayed:

" Certes, s'il y eut jamais sujet poétique et grandiose, c'est celui-là. La délivrance d'un peuple opprimé quittant la terre d'esclavage pour la terre promise sous la conduite d'un prophète inspiré de Dieu, quel admirable thème à développer! et pour fond à cette action la mystérieuse Egypte avec ses énormités architecturales, ses allées de sphinx accroupis, ses avenues d'obélisques, ses monstrueuses idoles à têtes d'animaux, ses temples aux panneaux d'hiéroglyphes, aux colonnes grosses comme des tours, ses stiles bariolées, ses syringes s'enfonçant dans le granit rose des montagnes, ses hypogées où dorment, couche par couche, des nations de cadavres embaumés, ses processions interminables de prêtres coiffés du pschent et portant sur les épaules la bari mystique, tout cet aspect funèbre et sacerdotal qui étonne et confond l'esprit à travers tant de siècles écoulés.

" Balzac a fait, dans son conte vénétien de *Massinilla Doni*, une analyse savante et détaillée du Moïse" (125).

Gautier had seen the representation of *Moïse* in 1836 (his poem of "La Diva" is direct evidence of its impression on him); he had read Balzac's analysis of the opera, with its notation of interracial love (126) as a subject in conjunction with the powerful effects of the original *Exodus* story; and he had, on his return from the Orient, again seen a revival of Rossini's masterpiece. It does not seem surprising that, when the opportunity for archaeological background was later offered him by Feydeau's account of Egyptian sepulture, his personal experiences of the

East, and of the moving representations of *Moïse*, should have furnished the historian of the *Momie* with an inspiration for his novel.

This personal element is one factor, then, in the inception of Gautier's literary work; other factors—contemporary events, general contemporary thought, works of art, and specific literary productions,—have also been found to have a place there. Perhaps the notation of some of the antecedents of the young author's first novel will help to fix the parts of these elements in his general inspiration to write. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, in fact, shows dependence on at least four of the five usual sources of Gautier's compositions. The central figure, d'Albert, is considered as largely autobiographical, and many of his lyrical expressions are too strictly in accord with the sentiments which the young author set down elsewhere to leave any doubt as to the essential accuracy of this view. It is to be noted, however, that there was another literary hero who, in 1833, closely resembled Gautier's protagonist: the *homme d'art* Max, whom Madame Ségalas describes in the following terms:

" . . . Max est un *homme d'art*; il cherche la poésie à travers toutes les choses de la vie; dans un assassinat, dans un suicide, dans des larmes, dans du sang, il ne voit que de la poésie; c'est une flamme sans cesse, allumée en lui, qui brûle, qui dessèche tout ce qu'il a de sentiments. Veut-il trouver un élan de pitié, une souffrance qui réponde à celle d'un ami, quand il cherche dans son cœur il n'y voit plus que des cendres; la flamme de la poésie a tout consumé, mais elle brûle toujours, et ce qui n'a pu lui arracher une larme va lui inspirer des vers ou un drame . . ." (127).

Ernest Legouvé, indeed, presents a character who seems a direct prefiguration of d'Albert, a more complete representation of the type to which Gautier and his friends tried to conform than that which, in an already idealized conception, was given to the reading public by *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. The perorations of Max on art seem unmistakably echoed by d'Albert (128). It is not only this conception of character, but also in large measure the theory of the contemporary novel, which appears to have been taken over by Gautier, and when Ernest Legouvé expresses his view in this matter, in the preface to *Max*, *Mademoiselle de Maupin* will later offer confirmatory evidence:

"Quand la littérature tombe en décadence, et qu'on veut du nouveau, on se jette dans les caractères d'exception. C'est ce qui nous est arrivé. Deux manières de faire l'exception en littérature : avec soi ou avec les autres, avec l'individualité ou les individualités.

"On s'exploite, soi, ses singularités, ses sentimens propres—Byron,—Goethe,—Lamartine,—Chateaubriand.

"C'est de l'individualité.

"Ou bien, l'on cherche et l'on peint des originaux, des hommes à part,—Caleb,—Jeanie,—Ochiltrie,—Bas de Cuir,—Atar Gull,—Kernok,—Ce sont des individualités. . . .

"Le système des exceptions est comme la langue d'Esope, bon et mauvais.

"Il est plus facile que l'autre, car les sentimens généraux de l'âme humaine sont limités ; les caractères exceptionnels n'ont pas de bornes.

"On est toujours sûr d'être vrai ; car quelle bizarrerie peut-on inventer qui ne puisse être dans le cœur humain !

"L'avantage, c'est l'originalité, l'inattendu, le terrible, l'étrange, l'intimité.

"L'inconvénient, c'est l'extravagance, le ridicule, le niais. . . .

"Max est un homme-drame, c'est un homme qui voit et cherche du théâtre partout ; la rampe est entre lui et toutes ses sensations, tous ses sentimens, toutes ses actions.

"Je ne sais si je me trompe, mais il me semble que cet homme est bien la personnification de cette phrase révoltante, ignoble, infâme et niaise qui sort maintenant de toutes les bouches,—*Il y a de la poésie là-dedans.* . . .

"A force de mettre la poésie partout, on ne met plus de cœur nulle part.

"On observe, on ne sent pas.

"Nous sommes dans un siècle misérablement observateur ; on se regarde vivre, on pèse et on jauge ses sensations ainsi qu'on mesurerait du grain : on analyse son âme, et l'analyse est comme le scalpel ; elle ne travaille que sur les morts. . . .

"C'est aujourd'hui un vrai métier de dupe que de faire de la littérature en conscience. Qui vous en sait gré ? Qui a le temps ou le souci de s'arrêter à des détails d'art, et à des beautés d'exécution ? . . . Mais que faire ? Quand on aime réellement les lettres, on les aime pour elles, pour soi, et non pour les autres, et alors on ne peut pas plus s'empêcher d'achever consciencieusement son œuvre que de parer une maîtresse . . ." (129).

The conception of d'Albert's character, nevertheless, is not all that Gautier draws from contemporary literary interests ; Mademoiselle de Maupin herself figures in history, and the revival of interest in her story surrounds the period in which Gautier wrote his novel. Durant notes this provenance of the tale when he says :

"Or, l'esprit d'observation, le cœur, l'imagination, l'invention ont toujours fait défaut à Gautier. Oui, même l'invention. Le canevas du *Capitaine Fracasse* appartient à Scarron ; celui de *Mademoiselle de Maupin* appartient à l'histoire . . . à l'histoire de l'Opéra : cherchez dans le premier répertoire venu des femmes célèbres et vous trouverez Mlle. Maupin (la particule en moins) courant la prétontaine sous des habits d'homme, et, vraie virago,

ne le cédant en rien à Théodore, mettant à chaque pas flamberge au vent; un jour, entre autres, contre l'acteur Duménil. Cela se passait à la fin du dix-septième siècle . . ." (130).

It was just before the publication of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* that Rochefort brought out his story of this strange celebrity in the *Monde dramatique* (131), and he noted that his collaborator in the journal was at that time occupied with the novel in question, but four years earlier there had appeared, in the *Artiste*, a letter addressed to Monsieur le Chevalier de Seranne, maître en fait d'armes, à Marseille, from Madeleine Maupin, at Paris, May 15, 1704, with the following note:

"Cette lettre fait partie de la collection d'autographes des musiciens célèbres, recueillie par M. Castel-Blaze" (132).

From this early publication there stand out various details taken up later, some by Rochefort in his history, others by Gautier in his novel. The young woman, dressed in men's clothing, and exhibiting frequently her skill with the sword, was thus already in contemporary writing. Similar personages are found in the translations of Chinese legends published by Stanislas Julien from 1830 to 1834, and known to Gautier, and the titles of two pieces, a short story and a poem, demonstrate this connection: "Tsé-Hiong-Hiong-Ti, ou les deux frères de sexe différent," and "Romance de Mou-Lau, ou la fille soldat" (133). Girard has pointed out the connection between *Mademoiselle de Maupin* and the *Fragoletta* of Henri de Latouche (134), and perhaps this literary attention to the hermaphrodite was emphasized by the satiric note in the *Cabinet de Lectures* of February 19, 1832, (that periodical to which Gérard de Nerval contributed regularly), entitled "Métamorphose d'une fille de vingt ans, en garçon" (135). Contemporary events, moreover, seem to have been utilized by Gautier in still another manner for the upbuilding of the comedy scenes in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, for the representation of *As You Like It*, by a company of the aristocracy and at a nobleman's dwelling, has its parallel in the revival at the Hôtel Castellane of the long-eclipsed amusement of the *Théâtre de société*. It is on the subject of this new interest that Gautier's

first dramatic criticism was written, and it is noteworthy that the article, appearing in May 1835, preceded the publication of his novel by several months (136). This type of society game made a deep impression on the young author, and he found its general idea charming:

"M. le comte Jules de Castellane, dont tout le monde admirait à Longchamps la magnifique calèche russe attelée de quatre chevaux blancs et menée à la Daumont par des postillons en livrée écarlate, a donné ces jours derniers une des plus brillantes soirées de cette saison, où l'on en a vu tant et de si fashionables. . . . Ce qui faisait le piquant et l'originalité de cette soirée et la distinguait entre toutes les autres, c'est qu'il y avait comédie. Un théâtre peint de velours bleu occupait la moitié du salon, et sur le manteau d'harlequin, on lisait dans une cartouche cette inscription d'une modestie au moins exagérée: *La critique se tait où l'amitié s'amuse*.

"On avait choisi, je ne sais trop pourquoi et probablement par manière d'essai, deux pièces d'un esprit un peu passé: le *Roman d'une heure, Défiance et Malice*. Les rôles de femmes étaient remplis par deux notabilités littéraires, mesdames la duchesse d'A. et M. W.—M . . . s. N. et R. faisaient Valcour et Blinval. Tout a marché le mieux du monde et aux bruits d'applaudissemens presque toujours mérités, jamais nul théâtre n'eut semblable parlerre. Il tenait de l'écrin et de la corbeille, ce n'était que fleurs et piergeries, ce n'était que jolies femmes et duchesses, souvent le tout ensemble. La cohue était la plus illustre du monde, on ne coudoyait que des gens nés ou célèbres . . ." (137).

The unusual effects which might be produced in such a rich theatre of amateurs is, indeed, one of the points which the author of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* makes in his treatment of the comedy (138).

An even more personal source of the inspiration of Gautier's novel is to be found for the château itself, and Boucher discovers in the château of the Montesquiou, which Gautier had visited in his youth and where he had spent much time with his benefactor, the Abbé, many details which the young author incorporated into his description, and an original for his accurate reminiscences (139). Finally, if one may take the testimony of a fellow-Lycéen as evidence, the young Gautier had experienced in his own surroundings certain feelings, certain desires for a different life, to which he gives form in Madeleine de Maupin. Hippolyte Tampusci dedicates his "*Rêverie*" (140) to his comrade Gautier, and develops his theme: "*Si j'étais jeune fille*"; Gautier's heroine is no more eager than the young poet to see men

in a new light. Personal reminiscence serves as a guide in the inspiration of this first novel.

This element, on the other hand, seems of less importance in the inception of *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, while the pictorial stimulus, which is not apparent in the inspiration of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, here becomes of some importance. The determination of the germ of this story is not easy (141), but various indications of sources may be mentioned and elements, welded together by the author and showing his receptivity to different varieties of occasion, can be pointed out. As early as 1829 there appeared, in an annual to which Gautier later gladly contributed, an account of the feasts of Cleopatra which must have charmed the young Jeune-France of these years. Peignot's picture of the *Luxe de Cléopâtre dans ses festins* is vivid:

"Pénétrons dans ce sanctuaire où le goût oriental étale une magnificence et une somptuosité inconnue jusqu'alors. Le lieu du festin ressemblait à un temple; le plafond était éblouissant, et le bois des lambris caché sous d'épaisses lames d'or; les murs étaient incrustés d'agates et de porphyre d'un poli éclatant. Dans tout le palais, on marchait sur l'onyx; le vestibule était revêtu d'ivoire; l'ébène de Méroé y était prodigué, et servait aux portes du palais de support et non d'ornements. Sur ces portes immenses, l'écaille de la tortue de l'Inde est appliquée en relief, et dans chacun de ces compartiments une émeraude étincelle; au-dedans on ne voit que vases de jaspe, sièges émaillés de rubis et de diamants, lits où la pourpre, l'or, l'écarlate éblouissent les yeux par ce riche mélange que la navette sait donner à leur tissu. La salle du festin se remplit d'une multitude d'esclaves, différents d'âge et de couleur: les uns brûlés par le soleil d'Ethiopie, portant leurs cheveux relevés en arrière et tressés autour de la tête: les autres d'un blond si clair que César dit n'en avoir pas vu de plus argentés sur les bords du Rhin. . . .

"Rien ne peut égaler la délicatesse, le nombre et la somptuosité des mets. Des urnes de cristal versent l'eau de ce fleuve, la plus flatteuse au goût qui soit dans l'univers. De profondes coupes d'or, enrichies de pierres précieuses, reçoivent non le breuvage que produit le fécond Maréotis, mais le jus délicieux des vignes de Méroé, cette liqueur qu'un soleil ardent fait bouillonner, et à laquelle il donne en peu de temps la maturité d'une longue vieillesse. Le nard odoriférant, et la rose qui ne cesse de fleurir dans ces climats, couronnent le front des convives. Leurs cheveux distillent les parfums que ces bords même font éclore, et dont la subtile essence ne s'est point évaporée. . . ." (142).

The imagination is sumptuously inspired. Seven years later, *Cléopâtre, reine d'Égypte* was first published in France by Jules de Saint-Félix, and here there is emphasized another point in Gautier's composition: the cruelty of the great queen. Saint-

Félix, in his notes, gives various items of information which would facilitate the work of a novice on Egypt, but his plot is quite different from Gautier's invention, and, indeed, contrasts two characters—Antinoë the Nubian and Esther the Jew—in a manner which the *Roman de la Momie* will recall with Tahoser and Rachel. The plot of *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, on the other hand, resembles in its central circumstance—the granting of the condemned man's request for one night of joy before his end—the *Chevalier Olaf* of Heinrich Heine:

“Je dois mourir aujourd'hui. Oh! laisse-moi vivre seulement jusqu'à minuit, afin que je fête mes noces par un festin et par des danses. . . .”

“Sire Olaf est assis au banquet de ses noces, il vide son dernier verre, l'épousée s'appuie sur son épaule et gémit. Le bourreau se tient devant la porte . . .” (143).

If, however, the story of Cleopatra was a contemporary interest, and if Heine had found in the North a subject for romance which coincided with Gautier's rendering of the exoticism of Egypt, yet the conjunction of these stimuli in the latter's inspiration seems to have taken place only through a pictorial occasion: through a study of Cleopatra's use of poison set before the author's eyes by Jean Gigoux. Gautier's first intimation of knowledge of this painting dates from 1836, when he speaks of a view of it in the studio:

“. . . M. Gigoux a fort avancé l'ébauche d'une grande composition d'Antoine et Cléopâtre, essayant des poisons sur des esclaves, qui montre des ressources nouvelles et des jours inattendus dans son talent. Nous reparlerons de ce tableau quand l'exécution sera menée à point. Jusqu'à présent l'on ne peut juger que l'intention . . .” (144).

The picture was finished in 1837, but refused by the jury for the Salon of that year, and it is not until 1838, the year in which *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* was published, that the promised description was given although the critic commented on the absence of the canvas from the preceding Salon. The terms which Gautier uses in his final criticism show his reflections on the subject, his realization of its possibilities:

“La *Cléopâtre* de M. Gigoux prouve de grands efforts de la part du peintre; c'était un sujet magnifique, immense, et si vaste que ce n'aurait pas été trop pour le traiter complètement de Paul Véronèse et de Michel-Ange réunis; Paul Véronèse pour l'architecture, les colonnes de marbre, les degrés de

porphyre, les pavés de mosaïque, les lits d'ivoire, les vases et les aiguères d'or et d'argent ciselés, les cassolettes soufflant par leurs cent narines des spirales de fumée bleuâtre, les guirlandes de fleurs, les aigrettes, les colliers de grosses perles, les brocards à ramages, les étoffes à trame lumineusement grenue, les musiciens à costumes bizarres, les nègres au rire d'œillet épanoui portant de grands plats sur la tête, pour tout le côté élégant et splendide du sujet. . . .

" . . . Quant à Cléopâtre, nous ne savons pourquoi M. Gigoux l'a représentée blonde. . . . Les historiens marquent très précisément que Cléopâtre était brune. . . .

" Nous aurions désiré plus d'entrain, plus de turbulence, plus de somptuosité et d'éclat dans cette scène; l'architecture n'est pas assez riche, le festin ne s'aperçoit pas assez. M. Gigoux a mis trop de sobriété dans sa composition, et ne s'est pas assez abandonné à lui-même . . ." (145).

Gautier's canvas is rich in the magnificence of colour and of form which he desired in vain of his painter, and he strives for greater historical accuracy. His fellow-critics had quarreled with Gigoux on the ground of the unlikelihood of poisons being tried at the very feast of the Emperor, and had imputed to him a misunderstanding of Plutarch's account (146). Gautier, however, does not take issue on this subject—perhaps because he is aware that Pliny presents a scene where Cleopatra forces a slave, called expressly from the prison, to swallow the poisoned drink which she has offered to Antony and then snatched from him. The slave drinks, and expires immediately (147). The young author's "historians" have stood him in good stead, and his zeal as an art-critic has put before him the pictorial occasion of an invention for which components have been furnished by contemporary interests and writings.

The minor episodes of the story demonstrate the same mingling of stimuli: in 1836, again, the journalist states that everyone knows Roberts' *Cléopâtre sur le Fidrus* (148): such is the opening scene of his own story. It was at this same time that the Comédie was being played at the Hôtel Castellane, and Malo calls attention to the fact that the entrance to the amphitheatre led through a long gallery decorated with antique statues, Egyptian curiosities, sarcophagi and mummies (149). In February of the following year, Madame Sophie Gay announced the arrival of a precious cargo of Egyptian antiquities brought back by M. Minault (150), and it is this collection which Gautier reviews in an article appearing between the Cleopatra ballet-project of

1837 and the publication of his finished story in 1838, and justifying, by specific allusion to various exhibits actually observed, many of his details of Egyptian life (151). The critic's impression of this ancient civilization is that of the short-story writer, that of the author of the *Roman de la Momie*, for his exclamation in this article: "Etrange pays que l'Egypte, on dirait que les vivants n'y ont jamais fait autre chose que d'enterrer les morts", anticipates his later judgments. The tale of Cleopatra, however, is not entirely dominated by this thought; on the contrary, the scene of the queen's bathing gives obvious pleasure to its author in its opportunity for the display of less sombre riches. It seems, indeed, that Gautier has recalled here the charming bath of the Egyptian princess described by that *grotesque* of his predilection: Saint-Amant:

"Une branche du Nil avec art menagée,
Et d'Arbres immortels en tout temps ombragée,
Isole une Prairie, où les plus rares fleurs
Faisaient briller l'esmail des plus vives couleurs.

* * * * *

Le long et droit Canal que ce beau Pré renferme
S'ornoit de deux beaux Ponts, qui de la terre-ferme
Abboutissoient à l'Isle, et l'Art y faisait voir
Des plus rares Ouvriers l'industriel Sçavoir.
Là, les vieux Roys d'Egypte, et ses plus nobles Mages
Sembloyent par le cizeau revivre en leurs Images.
Chaque Arche en portoit une, et ces Marbres levez
Fouloyent d'un pié vainqueur cent Gestes achevez

* * * * *

Deux longs rangs de barreaux, faits du premier Métal,
Sur des Murs de Porphyre en gardoyent le cristal;
Entre ces barreaux d'or cent Piliers magnifiques,
Sous des Vases de Jaspe ornez d'hyeroglifiques,
De distance en distance arrestoyent les regars,
Et d'un Albâtre pur, luisoyent de toutes parts."

"Au bord délicieux de l'Onde fortunée

* * * * *

Finissoit une Route en beautez incroyable,
Un Berceau naturel, sombrement agréable;
Par ce digne Sentier la Nimphe s'y rendit,
Et pour aller au Bain, de son Char descendit.

* * * * *

Sur la Rive superbe elle fut la première;
Et jamais le Soleil, le Roy de la Lumière,
Lors qu'il sort de la Mer si beau ne se montra

"Que cette Reine fit lors qu'en l'Onde elle entra.

Cent doigts polis et blancs l'avoyent deshabillée
 Sous l'obscur espaisseur de la verte Feuillée,
 Où bien loin de sa Suite, un Pavillon tendu
 En rendoit le spectacle aux Hommes deffendu.
 Ses beaux pieds, tout-ensemble, et hardis et timides,
 S'abaissent dans le Fleuve entre deux Piramides
 Qui semblent s'eslever pour dire au Firmament
 Leur fortune, leur gloire, et leur contentement:
 Un précieux Degré, fait de Nacre et d'Agathe,
 N'eut pas si-tost senty sa plante délicate
 Qu'il redoubla son lustre. . . .

* * * * *

Seulement à ma plume il est permis de dire
 Que le Nil la recut, qu'un aymable Zephire
 Desnoüant de son chef le mobile trésor,
 Sembloit faire descendre un noble ruisseau d'or
 Sur le fluide argent des flamboyantes Ondes.

* * * * *

D'abord, de la fraîcheur elle est un peu transie,
 Mais la fraîcheur enfin lui semblant adoucie,
 Elle avance le pié douteux et retenu
 Sur un sable mollet, insensible et menu.
 Sa taille se desrobe, elle entre, elle se plonge,
 Elle se laisse aller, s'abandonne, s'allonge,
 Nage, esbranle les flots, et les flots agitez
 Pétilent d'allegresse autour de ses beautez.

* * * * *

O que l'on essaya de richesses fonduës!
 On eust dit à les voir sur sa gorge epandues
 Que de ce double Mont contraint à pantheler,
 La neige se voulust en perles distiler" (152).

Une Nuit de Cléopâtre, indeed, illustrates the inception of Gautier's literary production. In it are to be found a mingling of details of pictorial and literary origin, a dependence on the data of others and upon personal experiences, an artistic response to the preoccupations of the time. In this, as in other original works which display the author's own sentiments and which are delimited by them, the inception of the particular piece comes from a variety of sources; Gautier makes use of several types of occasion for his writing, depending on his own experiences of thought and action, and more especially on literary and visual or pictorial stimuli, for the initiation of his works of art.

1. This preparedness should be taken to include not only the directing force of the individual sentiments, as already indicated in the case of Gautier, but also the balance between external pressure and personal inertia—a question of energy to be considered later.
2. *Spirite* and Edgar Allan Poe; cf. SMITH, *The Brief-Narrative Art of Th. Gautier*, p. 657.
3. COUNSON, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
4. *Op. cit.*, scène IX; p. 25.
5. *Tristram Shandy*, vol. VI, chapter viii. To this should be compared the scene between Satan, the "bon Dieu" and Eloa, in which the link between a drop of water and the final tear of pity is distinctly made from the inspiration of Vigny's poem. *Op. cit.*, scène III, pp. 8-10.
6. BARTON, *Laurence Sterne and Théophile Gautier*, p. 207.
7. ESTÈVE, *Byron et le romantisme français*, p. 235.
8. *Op. cit.*, Canto I, strophe xiii, second stanza of song; "Départ," dans *l'España, Poésies complètes*, II, 93.
9. D. M., *Critique littéraire—Une Larme du diable*, p. 133, 134, 135.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
11. Cf. "L'Evocation" in Heine's *Nocturnes*, in which the young Franciscan monk, solitary and tempted beyond endurance, calls forth from the tomb the body of the most beautiful woman, who comes before him, pale and enveloped in white wrappings. *Loc. cit.*, p. 161.
12. RETINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
13. BREUILLAC, *Hoffmann en France*, II, 90-93.
14. POULAIN, *Traces de l'influence allemande* . . . , p. 60.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
16. *Loc. cit.*, p. 299.
17. *Loc. cit.*, dans les *Poèmes et Légendes*, p. 147.
18. "Stances", *España, Poésies complètes*, II, 125.
19. BLANGUERNON, *Le "Songe" de Jean-Paul et Théophile Gautier*, p. 449.
20. RAYNAUD, *Baudelaire et Théophile Gautier*, p. 585.
21. *Op. cit.*, novembre-décembre 1835 (t. II, p. 399); cf. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 173.
22. POULAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
23. BALDENSPERGER, *Goethe en France*, p. 117.
24. *Op. cit.*, p. 183, note 1.
25. *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, VI, 270-272.
26. BERGERAT, *Souvenirs d'un enfant de Paris*, IV, 333: "Lundi 5 décembre (1887).—Lu à nos amis C . . . le quatrième acte du *Fracasse*. Ils le gobent ou paraissent le gobier. Pour les remercier, je les initie à *l'illusion comique* du vieux Corneille, bouffonnerie shakespearienne, dans laquelle il y a un *Matamore* à l'italienne sans pair où Gautier a certainement accroché le sien . . ."
27. *Op. cit.*, seconde partie, p. 31.
28. *España, Poésies complètes*, II, 135; first published in 1839, before Gautier's travels in Spain.
29. UHLAND, *op. cit.*
30. SP. DE LOVENJOL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , No. 77; the article first appeared in the *Landscape français: Italie*, 1833.
31. *Une Journée à Londres*, dans les *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 115.
32. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

33. A detailed study of Gérard de Nerval, in his original writings and in his translations, would be of much interest for the antecedents of his comrade Gautier. It is also necessary to note the great similitude between the first themes and theories of the latter, and the early expression of his master, Victor Hugo. Between him and his disciple there is correspondence of thought and expression which points undoubtedly to the author of the *Orientales* as a specific literary source for Gautier. It must be kept in mind, however, that all the generation of 1830 followed this master, so that the question as to whether his inspiration came direct, or through the intermediary of the general current of the times (with a consequent part in Gautier's contemporary occasions), must be left open.
34. (23.2.63, Br. VII, S. 303), cited by Wirtz, *Die Aktivität im ästhetischen Verhalten*, p. 408.
35. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , Nos. 92 and 91.
36. *Op. cit.*, No. 74.
37. *Ibid.*, Nos. 107 and 88; cf. *Poésies complètes*, II, 181 and 82, for the two pieces.
38. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 147; published first in the edition of 1853.
39. "Lehmann . . . a aussi une composition tirée de la ravissante ballade de Goethe, où la fée des eaux entraîne un jeune pêcheur dans son palais de nacre de perle." *La Presse*, "Beaux-Arts—Ouverture du Salon", 1^{er} mars 1837.
40. *La Presse*, "Salon de 1837", 15 mars 1837.
41. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 147.
42. *Poésies complètes*, II, 60.
43. *Ibid.*, I, 209; cf. "Salon de 1836", dans *l'Ariel*, 30 avril 1836.
44. *La Presse*, "Salon de 1846", 3 avril 1846.
45. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 125; cf. POULAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
46. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 133; DU CAMP, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
47. *La Presse*, "Salon de 1837", 14 mars 1837.
48. "Bruits du Salon", *l'Artiste*, 2^e série, t. vii, 7^e livr., p. 128; cf. commentary to the reproduction of this picture in the *Artiste* of January 9th, 1842, 3^e série, t. ix, 2^e livr., p. 32, accompanying an *Episode de la destruction d'Herculanum* by Simon Guérin.
49. Cf. SMITH, *The Brief Narrative Art of Théophile Gautier*, p. 141; "Lafcadio Hearn (*One of Cleopatra's nights, etc.*—New York, Brentano, 1906, pp. 385–388) thinks that Gautier may have found the inspiration for *Arria Marcella* in an old Greek ghost story, and quotes Michelet's version of this."
Cf. a letter from Gautier to Michelet, without date, in which he thanks the latter for his project of sending him through their mutual friend Sadeler the volumes of his admirable history, as they are published. Lovenjoul C-485-137.
50. *Op. cit.*, I, 255–256.
51. *La Presse*, "Salon de 1850–51", 1^{er} mars 1851.
52. *L'Artiste*, 1841, 2^e série, t. vii, 15^e livr., p. 247; cf. *op. cit.*, 7^e livr., p. 129, and 12^e livr., p. 192.
53. *Op. cit.*, 1841, 2^e série, t. vii, 14^e livr., p. 241.
54. *Collection de tableaux espagnols*, in *La Presse* of September 24th, 1837: ". . . Le Passage de la mer Rouge, d'Esteban Marc, pourrait se soutenir à coté des plus belles mêlées de Salvator et de Michel Ange. . . ."

55. LEHTONEN, *Sur la genèse du "Capitaine Fracasse"*, p. 201: ". . . Le *Roman comique* de Paul Scarron . . . a toujours eu beaucoup d'admirateurs et de lecteurs en France, mais surtout aux beaux jours du romantisme. Delacroix, chef d'école de la peinture romantique, et Rioult, maître de peinture de Gautier, y avaient déjà puisé des sujets pour leurs tableaux, de même que Scarron s'était inspiré pour certaines de ses scènes, des gravures de Callot. . . ."
56. *V.* note to the Charpentier edition, 1881, p. 1.
57. Gautier makes many references to Piranesi in the course of his critical studies and of his *Voyages*.
58. *Mademoiselle Dafné*, p. 56.
59. Cf. CH. CLÉMENT, *Etudes sur les beaux-arts*, p. 220: "M. Gleyre—à propos du tableau Hercule aux pieds d'Omphale", 1863.
60. RAOUL-ROCHETTE, *Monumens inédits d'Antiquité figurée, grecque, étrusque et romaine*, p. 317:
 ". . . Pour marque de sa servitude, le Héros porte sur la tête un morceau d'étoffe, pareil à celui qu'on voit aux figurés de *Nourrices*, et tient de chaque main un fuseau et une quenouille garnis de laine."
 Cf. Omphale, in the *Nouvelles*, p. 213.
61. *V.* VICAIRE, *Manuel de l'amateur* . . . , IV, 1109.
62. *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, IV, 174-175, 15 décembre 1845.
63. *La Presse*, 14 avril 1845.
64. *Ibid.*, 9 octobre 1837.
65. LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , No. 117. First published in *l'Abeille*, 26 décembre 1835; *Poésies complètes*, I, 330.
66. J. BOUCHARDY, *op. cit.*, in the *Monde dramatique* for 1825, 2^e partie, pp. 70-72.
67. Cf. S. JULIEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 and 198; "Chinoiserie", *Poésies complètes*, I, 329.
68. *Prémières Poésies*.
69. *Poésies complètes*, II, 68.
70. *Ibid.*, II, 66; 1841.
 "Sur l'eau bleue et profonde
 Nous allons voyageant,
 Environnant le monde
 D'un sillage d'argent."
71. M. MARMIER. "Sur Mer", dans *l'Ariel* du 20 avril 1836, No. 15;
 "Où sur cette onde,
 Large et profonde,
 Quand vient la nuit,
 Où tout sommeille,
 .
 .
 Oh! je voudrais plonger sous cette vague blanche,
 Chercher l'urne d'argent d'où la source s'épanche"
72. JAMES-IMBERT GALLOIX (de Genève), dans les *Annales romantiques* de 1835, pp. 231-232.
73. S. HENRY BERTHOUD, *Contes misanthropiques*.
74. *Ibid.*
75. In the *Annales romantiques* of 1830, p. 192.
76. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

77. It is of interest to note that two of the protagonists in this tale, students of medicine and of law, are named *Trial* and *Théophile*; it will be recalled that the young Théo's friend and coadjutor as editor of *l'Ariel*, Lassailly, was the author of the *Roueries de Trialph*.
78. BERTHOUD, *loc. cit.*
79. *Chroniques et traditions* . . . ; tome I, "La Partie d'échecs du diable", pp. 15-16; tome III, "L'Ecsholier d'Anchin", p. 30; *ibid.*, "La Noce du contrebandier", p. 117.
80. *Op. cit.*, III, 199.
81. HUGO, *Les Orientales*, "Fantômes", p. 390.
82. Cf. ASSELINEAU, who finds that the following problem is posed by the book: "Quelles souffrances et quelles joies particulières un Parisien pourra-t-il trouver dans l'amour d'une Indienne?" *Bibliographie romantique*, p. 173. Eusèbe de Salles' treatment of inter-racial love is very different, however, from that of Gautier.
83. Cf. H. LUCAS, *Qui peut répondre de soi*, III, in the *Artiste* for 1841, 2^e série, t. vii, livr. 26, p. 435-436; and a criticism of *Jettator* at the Palais-Royal, *op. cit.*, t. viii, 15^e livr., p. 237.
84. RETINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
85. F. PYAT, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-47 *passim*.
86. H. HEINE, *Les Nuits florentines*, in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* of 1836, No. 28 (April 15 and May 1), p. 214.
87. *Loc. cit.*, p. 339.
88. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 206-208.
89. *Premières Poésies*, édition Conard, p. 229; *Les Jeunes-France*, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 ss.
90. ALOÏSIUS BERTRAND, *Gaspard de la Nuit*, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.
91. *Fortunio*, pp. 56-57.
92. BERTRAND, *Le Keepsake fantastique*, "La Giroflée", p. 41. Cf. GAUTIER, *Poésies complètes*, I, 91.
93. "Gazhel" *Poésies complètes*, II, 71; "J'ai tout donné pour rien", *ibid.*, p. 82, published first in 1833.
94. PÉTRUS BOREL, *op. cit.*, p. 88:

"Non! rendez-moi mon bachelet;
 Mon humble cœur est son varlet!
 . . .
 Ainsi, tu braves honneurs, famille,
 D'Archambault, mes vœux! . . ."
95. VICTOR HUGO, *Odes et ballades*, p. 254. Cf. "Lazzara" in *Les Orientales*, and *Hernani*, act II, scene II, p. 38.
96. *Op. cit.*, p. 57; *Poésies complètes*, II, 65; published in 1843. Molière's presentation of Acaste may well have furnished the point of departure for both writers of the generation of 1830:

"J'ai du bien, je suis jeune, et sors d'une maison
 Qui se peut dire noble, avec quelque raison,
 Et je crois, par le rang que me donne ma race,
 Qu'il est fort peu d'emplois, dont je ne sois en passe.
 Pour le cœur, dont, surtout, nous devons faire cas,
 On sait, sans vanité, que je n'en manque pas;
 Et l'on m'a vu pousser, dans le monde, une affaire
 D'une assez vigoureuse, et gaillarde manière.

"Pour de l'esprit, j'en ai, sans doute, et du bon goût,
A juger sans étude, et raisonner de tout;

Je suis assez adroit, j'ai bon air, bonne mine,
Les dents belles, surtout, et la taille fort fine.
Quant à se mettre bien, je crois, sans me flatter,
Qu'on seroit mal venu de me le disputer.
Je me vois dans l'estime, autant qu'on y puisse être,
Fort aimé du beau sexe, et bien auprès du Maître:
Je crois qu'avec cela, mon cher Marquis, je croi,
Qu'on peut, par tout pays, être content de soi."

Le Misanthrope, acte III, scène I.

97. VIGNY, *Poésies*, "Paris" p. 169; GAUTIER, *Poésies complètes*, loc. cit., I, 190.
98. VIGNY, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
99. VIGNY, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
100. *Poésies complètes*, loc. cit., II, 11; VICTOR HUGO, *Odes* . . ., loc. cit., p. 147.
101. PHILOTHÉE O'NEDDY, *Feu et Flamme*, "Nuit Quatrième, III", p. 39; written in 1829.
102. *Op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12, 13.
103. NESTOR DE LAMARQUE, "Le Désespoir", in the *Annales romantiques* of 1831, pp. 103-107.
104. In the *Annales romantiques* of 1832, pp. 285-288.
105. In the *Annales romantiques* of 1833, pp. 134-136.
106. In the *Annales romantiques* of 1835, p. 73.
107. Preface to *Emaux et Camées*, pp. xi-xiii.
108. Preface to *Jean et Jeannette*, p. xvii.
109. *Deburau*, p. 8:

"Sa vie est une page du *Roman comique*: il semble, en la lisant, qu'on revienne à ces beaux récits d'autrefois, lorsque Scaramouche charmait la cour par la relation sincère de ce qui lui était arrivé. Deburau est Bohémien; c'est un de ces *enfants de la mandoline* qui peuplent la terre, croissent, multiplient en parcourant le monde de gambade en gambade, ne connaissant pas d'autre patrie que le sol sur lequel ils font halte et trouvent un abri."
110. *Histoire de l'art dramatique* . . ., I, 224.
111. Of strictly occasional poetry, Gautier wrote little, but his volumes of verse are not without contributions of this kind, and, as has been noted, the poet's father found his inspiration in one such poem particularly felicitous.
112. LARDANCHET, *Les Enfants perdus du romantisme*, p. 216.
113. JANIN, *Etre Artiste!* pp. 11-12.
114. *Fortunio*, p. 145.
115. *Notice sur Baudelaire*, in the *Poètes français* of Crépét, IV, 597.
116. *Fortunio*, p. 139. This passage, according to the pagination, must have been published on the 7th of July, 1837.
117. *V. La Presse*, 12 mai 1837. The passage in question reads, in part:

"Quand je mis le pied dans le grand pavillon des plantes tropicales, j'éprouvai une espèce de vertige singulier. . . . O délice pour un frieux tel que moi; il faisait là-dedans trente-trois degrés de chaleur. . . ."

"Vers le milieu de la serre est un bassin rempli d'eau avec une figure de marbre en façon de Naiade, dans l'eau se jouent des poissons de la Chine, qui m'ont eu la mine d'être des poissons très heureux et de se croire dans leur fleuve natal, car il se reflétait dans leur bassin autant d'ombre de palmistes, de bambous et de tulipiers que sur les eaux du fleuve Jaune et de la rivière Bleue. L'eau tombe goutte à goutte et fait un bruit charmant à travers cette enivrante odeur, où ne passe aucun souffle d'air, c'est assez pour donner de la vie à cette forêt immobile sous ce ciel de verre. . . ."

118. *Loc. cit.*, p. 140.

119. "Fête à l'Hôtel de Ville", *La Presse*, 24 juin 1837.

120. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 51.

121. P. LAFOND, *Quelques décors du Capitaine Fracasse*, p. 650.

122. *Un Voyage en Espagne*, by Gautier and Paul Siraudin, 1843; acte III, scène ix.

123. Cf. *le Roman de la Momie*, pp. 292-293, with the passages quoted by Sp. de Lovenjoul (*Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 49ss.) from Gautier's account, which, according to Lovenjoul, should be inserted in the *Algérie* of *Loin de Paris*, at page 73.

124. Lovenjoul C-488-140.

125. *La Presse*, 8 novembre 1852, quoted in *La Musique* of Gautier, pp. 124-132. Balzac's account of the first revival should be compared to this criticism by Gautier:

" . . . Le fils de Pharaon aime une Juive, et cette Juive le quitte. Ce qui rend ce quintette une chose délicieuse et ravissante, est un retour aux émotions ordinaires de la vie, après la peinture grandiose des deux plus immenses scènes nationales et naturelles, la misère, le bonheur, encadrées par la magie que leur prêtent la vengeance divine et le merveilleux de la Bible. . . .

"Quoi de plus riche qu'un peuple voulant sa liberté, retenu dans les fers par la mauvaise foi, soutenu par Dieu, entassant prodiges sur prodiges pour devenir libre? Quoi de plus dramatique que l'amour du prince pour une Juive, et qui justifie presque les trahisons du pouvoir oppresseur? . . .

" . . . Le trône va parler; les concessions faites, il les retire, il arme sa colère, Pharaon va se dresser sur ses pieds pour s'élancer sur une proie qui lui échappe. . . .

" . . . Quel admirable mélange de sentiments dans le sublime ottetto, où la colère de Moïse et celle des deux Pharaons se trouvent aux prises! quelle lutte de voix et de colères déchainées! . . . Jamais sujet plus vaste ne s'était offert à un compositeur. . . ." *Massimila Doni*, 1839, *passim*.

126. It is to be noted that *la Juive de Constantine*, of 1846, had dealt with this question, again on the basis of personal observation in Algeria, and that in this sense the *Roman de la Momie* is the end of a series which began in *Fortunio*, at the time of the Parisian Javanese, and after Gautier's own interest in the "Jeune créole" of the *Premières Poésies*.

127. MADAME SÉGALAS, *compte-rendu de Max*, p. 229.

128. Cf. to *Mademoiselle de Mauvin*, pp. 96, 98, 198-199, the following passage from *Max*:

" . . . L'art! c'est ma roue d'Ixion; j'y suis enchaîné! . . . elle roule, je roule avec elle! . . . C'est ma vie, c'est mon âme! . . . Je n'ai pas dans les veines une seule goutte de sang qui ne soit de l'art!

" . . . Quand je suis près d'une femme: quand, la tête posée sur son sein ou les bras jetés autour de son cou, je m'enivre de baisers, de regards, d'amour, souvent je m'interromps au milieu de cette sensation de jouissance pour l'encadrer dans un ouvrage! . . . Tout m'est bon, car tout est pâture pour mon talent. . . . Dans une bonne action, dans un vice, dans un excès, je ne vois que le côté dramatique; je ne suis pas bon; je ne suis pas bienfaisant; je ne suis pas criminel, je suis artiste! . . . Voir! voir; et encore voir! voilà mon existence! Aussi je me laisse vivre au hasard, m'abandonnant toujours à toutes les chances, ne me refusant à aucun désir, écoutant toutes les superstitions comme des voix secrètes, me livrant à tous mes caprices. . . . Le monde entier pose devant moi, et je suis dans la vie comme à un spectacle! . . . Quel cri d'amour! Hé bien! ce ne fut pour moi qu'un cri de génie! . . . Ah! c'est que, vois-tu, la poésie est ma mort comme elle est ma vie! . . . C'est qu'elle se place entre moi et toutes mes impressions! . . . C'est que je ne saurais jamais être tout-à-fait heureux, ni tout-à-fait malheureux! . . ." *Op. cit.*, pp. 112-115, *passim*.

129. *Max*, p. ii-x. N. that Ernest Legouvé is not alone in finding contemporary literature occupied with such considerations; the essay of Déglény on *Le Langage à la mode*, coinciding in date with *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, bears out his view; the young Gautier was in the popular literary current of the moment. Cf. DÉGLÉNY, *op. cit.*, p. 310:

" . . . Le mot (art) d'ailleurs est fort utile, car il fournit des idées à ceux qui n'en ont pas, et du style à ceux qui n'ont eu guère.

"A côté de celui-là, il en est un autre qu'il ne serait pas plus permis d'oublier, car il trahit une des prétentions les plus divertissantes de notre temps.

"Aujourd'hui que chacun se cramponne, comme il le peut, aux intérêts de la vie positive, que la célébrité s'escompte, que la gloire se vend lorsqu'elle trouve à se vendre, que les succès ne s'estiment plus par ce qu'ils valent, mais par ce qu'ils rapportent, que la poésie s'est envolée à tire-d'ailes vers des climats plus doux, n'a-t-on pas eu l'idée de l'attacher à la terre, et de vouloir la mettre absolument partout?

"Il y a de la poésie là-dedans! Qui de nous n'a pas entendu cette plate bêtise appliquée à toutes les circonstances et dans toutes les occasions? . . .

"On se drape d'indifférent; on étale avec satisfaction une sorte d'impuissance morale, qu'on veut bien appeler du scepticisme; on trouve que tout est à peu près bien puisqu'il y de la poésie partout. . . ."

130. DURAND, *Théophile Gautier* . . ., p. 811.
 131. *Loc. cit.*, 20 septembre 1835. Sp. de Lovenjoul calls attention to this article in his *Histoire des Œuvres* . . ., when speaking of Gautier's novel.
 132. *L'Artiste*, 1831, I, 217-220.
 133. V. STANISLAS JULIEN, *l'Orphelin de Chine*, 1834.
 134. GIRARD, *Emile Deschamps*, p. 463.
 135. *Loc. cit.*, "Mélanges," 3^e année, no. 171.
 136. *Mademoiselle de Maupin* was published in the autumn of 1835; its second volume, in which the comedy is described, was written in six weeks. V. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres*. . . .
 137. *Le Monde dramatique*, 1835, t. I, p. 9; 23 mai. Gautier ends his *compte-rendu* with the following suggestion, parallel to the expressions of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*:

" . . . Les répétitions avaient été autant de réunions aussi brillantes que celle-ci. On parlait d'un théâtre à demeure que l'on bâtira dans le jardin de l'hôtel Castellane, et où l'on jouera des pièces faites exprès; si ce projet s'exécute, nous nous promettons bien d'en rendre compte. Il serait bon qu'il y eût une scène où des gens du monde essaieront devant des gens du monde de réaliser mille fantaisies délicates que repousse l'optique du théâtre ordinaire."

138. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 274ss. N., for the history of the "comédie de société" at this time, Delaboullaye, *Les Théâtres de Salon*, p. 302-304; Roger de Beauvoir on the *Théâtre Castellane*, first number of *l'Ariel* (1836), and two articles by Lassailly on the same subject, *l'Ariel*, 23 & 26 mars 1836, (I, 7 and 8). Also, on the comedy at the château of the Vicomte d'Arlincourt, during the summer of 1835, the "Bruits de Salon" in *l'Ariel* of March 26, 1836 (I, 8).
139. BOUCHER, *Une Visite à Maupérthuis*, p. 311-315; note the conclusion:
 ". . . Ainsi, à tout considérer, il ressort clairement de cette modeste incursion que . . . ce petit coin de la Brie a joué . . . un grand rôle dans la vie de Théophile Gautier, autant par l'impression profonde et le souvenir délicieux qu'il laissa aux premières années de sa vraie jeunesse que par des motifs d'inspiration où puisa le maître pour son œuvre. . . ."
140. TAMPUCCI, *Poésies*, p. 107-111; "Rêveries" bears the date of May, 1830.
141. Moeller, in his *Auffassung der Kleopatra*, p. 88-89, deals with Madame de Girardin's tragedy, apparently without knowledge of Gautier's story which served so largely as its base:
 "Dem armen Antonius gibt die Dichterin als Rivalen einen Slaver ihrer eigenen Erfindung. Merkwürdig genug ist es nun gerade diese letztere Figur, welche das ephemere Dasein von Madame de Girardin's *Cléopâtre* überdauert hat und neben der Königin die Hauptfigur der letzten französischen Cleopatradichtung geworden ist (Barbier-Massé, *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, opéra en trois actes, 1885)."
 If Moeller can be trusted for his theatrical data, it seems evident that Gautier's use of the Cleopatra story was not based on preceding stage tradition.
142. *Annales romantiques* de 1829, p. 230-232, a fragment by Peignot of Dijon on the *Luxe de Cléopâtre dans ses festins*.
143. HEINE, *Nocturnes*, in the *Poèmes et Légendes*, p. 69; these *Nocturnes* were written between 1821 and 1839.
144. "Courrier de Paris," in *La Presse*, 13 octobre 1836.
145. "Salon de 1838," *La Presse*, 23 mars 1838. N. that while the story of *Cléopâtre* was not written and published until the autumn of 1838, Gautier had planned a ballet on this subject in the preceding year; SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 18-22.
146. Cf. *L'Artiste*, 1838, xv, 101-102, 4th article on the Salon of 1838.
147. V. PLINY THE ELDER, *Histoire* . . . , II, 44.
148. "Illustrations pour Notre-Dame de Paris," in *La Presse*, 15 novembre 1836.
149. HENRI MALO, *La Gloire du Vicomte de Launay*, p. 197.
150. MADAME SOPHIE GAY, "Le Salon du Baron Gérard," in *La Presse*, "Variétés", 8 février 1837.
151. "Collection égyptienne de M. Minaut," *La Presse*, 19 décembre 1837.
152. SAINT-AMANT, *Moïse sauvé*, 11^e partie, p. 153-154, 12^e partie, p. 155-157; cf. *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre*, p. 361-364.

COMPOSITION

a. *Provenance of Material*

In entering upon the study of Gautier's composition proper, it must be noted that the actual literary process will vary with the *genre*: poetry is to be distinguished from prose, the original piece from the critic's article. So, too, within the imaginative writings, there is division on account of the very nature of the author's subject-matter, for the writer who deliberately places his story in some far-off time, in some distant country, will have to meet a problem of provenance of material differing essentially from that of the literary artist who deals with personal observations. Gautier's recourse to sources, then, and his utilization of material gathered from literary or historical predecessors, become of initial importance in the consideration of his processes of composition in the exotic works. The origin of such material as it is incorporated in his own conceptions, the extent to which the author is willing to document himself, are matters which may well be inquired into, while the question of the use of the material, its relation to the reproduction—in accuracy of recounting, in development, in combination with the imaginative elements contributed by the author—will lead into the midst of the study of his working-process.

Various prefaces to Gautier's short-stories have dealt at some length with his curious faculty for assimilation of the distant. Maurice Tournier, one of his early bibliographers, finds, for example, that in the pieces which he wrote avowedly after previous models there appears no trace of the plagiarism practiced by his contemporaries; rather,

“ Il a promené sa muse des pylones d'Égypte aux arcades de la campagne romaine, des sierras aragonaises aux arches du Pont-Neuf, sans cesser de mériter pour lui-même l'éloge qu'il décernait en 1855 à Henri Leys, moderne continuateur des maîtres allemands de la Renaissance, alors qu'il le définissait, 'non un imitateur, mais un semblable,' et ce qu'il disait de ses propres aptitudes de voyageur on l'appliquerait volontiers à d'autres

"dons qui le rendaient peut-être moins fier. 'J'ai, disait-il, une faculté admirable à me plier sans effort à la vie de différents peuples: je suis Russe en Russie, Turc en Turquie, Espagnol en Espagne . . .'" (1).

In similar manner A. de Claye judges of his ability to write about the past:

"Théophile Gautier ne pastichait rien ni personne. Il avait à ce point le don de l'assimilation qu'on ne saurait, quand il s'agit de lui, parler d'imitation. . . . Que le Nord ou le Midi attirât sa fantaisie vagabonde, que l'Égypte du temps de Cléopâtre ou les ruelles du temps de Louis XV fussent l'objet de sa curiosité toujours éveillée, il était un 'romantique'; et cela fait que, tout en mettant une sincérité d'artiste à entrer dans la peau de ses personnages, il ne dépouillait jamais la sienne" (2).

These general statements of power of assimilation give, however, no very definite idea of the writer's process of composition; it is more interesting to find him actually at work on the acquiring of material. So he requests of Henri Lacroix the correct spelling of a name which enters into an article to be written on a statute of Vercingétorix: "Est-ce Alésia? est-ce Alisia que s'appelle la ville défendue par Vercingétorix, toi qui es savant puisque tu habites la bibliothèque résous la question" (3). In similar manner he asks of a friend of Eugène Déveria some details about this unfortunate artist, in order that he may throw romantic flowers on his grave (4). To the end of his life he seeks expert advice, and in submitting the final proofs of his troublesome "Rapport sur la Poésie" he writes:

"Lisez-le la plume à la main. Si vous y trouvez quelque faute ou quelque erreur, corrigez-la; vous me rendrez un vrai service, et j'accepte la rature d'avance. Il y a un nom dont je ne suis pas sûr: le nom du poète breton. . . . Vous qui savez tout, vérifiez cela. Je ne suis pas sûr non plus du nom de l'auteur des *Légendes de la Vierge*. Si vous l'ignorez, biffez la phrase" (5).

If this desire for accurate information is evident in the journalistic activities of the author, it is no less visible in the composition of his works of imagination. The testimony to it is offered both directly and indirectly, by his own records and those of his friends, and also by the results of analysis of the finished work. It is found that his friends contributed data which fell within their provinces of knowledge, and which Gautier then made use of for the development of his exotic tales. To Madame Émile

Girardin, for example, he appeals for expert advice on fashions somewhat out of the ordinary, and he asks her for a "pretentious toilette" for use in *Militona*: "quelque chose d'atroce et de riche, genre Anglais, pour blonde tirant sur le roux, toilette d'été. J'ai peur de faire une caricature; la réalité doit être plus drôle" (6). In the same manner he puts himself in the hands of Marc Monnier for Neapolitan perspective, and in sending him the proofs of *Jettatura* asks him to look them over for faults of typography, but also to supply possible *hôtels* from which one may see Vesuvius, etc. (7). It is, however, not only expert personal correction which he desires; documentary confirmation of his own observation is sometimes considered necessary. So, in writing *La Juive de Constantine*, for which he had gained subject-matter and general setting from his own African travels, Gautier wishes to refer to an illustrated work by the duc d'Orléans for views of the city where he will place his dramatic action (8), and as this piece is of an unusual nature—as it is a melodrama for which the æsthetic and the architectonic have never been fixed—he must, by research in the works of the masters, strive to surprise its secret. "Que de fois l'aurore nous a surpris courbé sur quelque œuvre prodigieuse comme *Les Ruines de Babylone*, *Hariadan Barberousse*, *Robert, chef des brigands* . . . et autres pièces admirables . . ." (9). It is Gautier also who mentions the source of the historical information in his article on the "Club des Hachichins," and one may note here that he follows very exactly the data given by Hammer in the *Histoire des Assassins* (p. 213–216). There are certain essential differences: the French author does not here deal at length with the pleasures of awakening from the drug (although this side of the subject is taken up more fully by him in the description of the *Croix de Berny* and in his *feuilleton* on haschich in *La Presse*), and, on the other hand, Hammer does not provide him with the details of sensation, with the transpositions, the feelings of lightness, etc., with the reflections on the abolishment of the sense of time, which Gautier includes in his article and which presumably have been furnished him by the

actual meetings of the Hôtel Pimodan. Personal observation, as opposed to documentary evidence, is probably the chief basis of the Pompeïian setting of *Arria Marcella*; if paintings have permitted of his living reconstruction of the times, the details of geography or of living conditions, incorporated in his romance, follow accurately upon an acquaintance with the actual scenes and with the contents of the museums of the day (10). Remnants of the past, in whatever form they are offered, are gladly assimilated by him.

Various critics have studied the provenance of material in Gautier's stories of distant time or place and have found in some a combination of data from personal observations and from documentary sources, in others an almost entire dependence upon the latter. In the *Capitaine Fracasse* a mingling of material has been pointed out, for example, and while its author's contemporary, Félix Frank, speaks disparagingly of too numerous borrowings from Rabelais for the language (and of borrowings which are not consistently made but are interspersed with returns to contemporary expression) (11), a later critic follows out Gautier's use of observational material acquired during his visit to Gascony in 1844—for details of the country-side and its occupations, for the provincial names, for the "Château de la Misère" itself, of which the prototype must have been his cousin's château de Castillon:

"Quand Théophile Gautier alla le visiter, il menaçait ruine, les portes et les fenêtres tombaient; la baronne d'Ismer, ne pouvant porter remède à ce fâcheux état, s'était cantonnée avec son fils et ses rares domestiques, dans la partie la plus résistante et la moins endommagée. . . ." (12).

Gautier's most helpful source for this whole reconstruction, however, appears to have been his "Grotesques," Scarron and Saint-Amant, and in this writings Lehtonen finds the exact detail of the selected type of life under Louis XIII which is needed for the accurate creation of the atmosphere of the story. Plot from the *Roman comique* (reënforced by data from the author's own experience); language from Villon and Rabelais, from Scarron and his contemporaries; many locutions of Georges de Scudéry, Cyrano de Bergerac, Théophile de Viau; above all, the

details of that distant existence which are recorded in the poetry of Saint-Amant (13)—Gautier borrows all. Moreover,

“Il a consulté les eaux-fortes de Callot et les gravures d'Abraham Bosse, les mémoires de l'époque de Louis XIII et autres sources purement historiques, ce qui est fort bien. Mais il est allé encore plus loin. Il a aussi tiré profit des auteurs modernes, dont il s'est souvenu au moment de la composition et dont il a amalgamé dans son roman des descriptions spéciales, des tournures pittoresques, des images. . . .” (14).

In the *Pavillon sur l'Eau*, on the contrary, the provenance of material seems much less complex: personal and pictorial sources were probably absent, and the translations of Abel Rémusat: *Iu-Kiao-Li* and the *Contes chinois*, appear to have furnished Gautier with all the exotic detail desired for his story. These were, as a matter of fact, used freely by him, with a selection and recombination of striking traits, for the creation of the Chinese setting (15).

The Roman de la Momie, again, shows the author's recourse to all types of documentation for his most serious historical or geographical reconstructions. The sources of this novel have been extensively studied from the time when Flaubert, in response to Froehner's attack on his own and Gautier's archæological knowledge, referred to the presentation by the Egyptologist Passignac of the mummy whom Gautier called Tahoser (16), up to the very recent investigations of Lunn and Coleman (17). It is hardly necessary to recall what use the novelist made of Ernest Feydeau's *Histoire des usages funèbres et des sépultures des peuples anciens*: the author himself acknowledges his indebtedness, and Feydeau, in his *Souvenirs*, deals at length with this collaboration of research and with Gautier's power of animating dry bones furnished him by others. The aid of Feydeau extended beyond the printed word, illustrative material, verbal explanation, and he took the trouble to write out, from his knowledge of Egypt, notes of costumes, etc., which might be of service to his “Master.” So, for example:

“Les reines d'Égypte ont souvent tout le corps, à partir du buste, couvert d'une robe d'étoffe légère, couleur lilas tendre, étroite et dessinant bien les formes. Sur cette robe est étendu un réseau de perles longues et roses, formant des croisillons. Entre chaque croisillon, est écrit, sur la robe, en caractères hiéroglyphiques, le nom et les titres du Pharaon!

“N'est-ce pas galant?” (18).

Judith Gautier also describes her father at his work of documentation, of checking the written account by the photographic plate and the engraving (19). He was not satisfied with this, however, and extensive use of Passalacqua, of Belzoni, Wilkinson, Champollion, has been pointed out by Lunn and Coleman. It is very probable, also, that Maxime Du Camp, friend of Gautier and link between him and the Flaubert of the Oriental voyage, offered aid with plates and with detailed descriptions of Thebes which perhaps coincide better with Gautier's rendering of the scene than do those of Feydeau (20). The travels of Flaubert and Du Camp were apparently of direct service to Gautier, without the intervention of the printed word, for certain resemblances between Flaubert's *Notes de Voyage*, published many years after the *Roman de la Momie*, and locutions or scenes in the novel, suggest very strongly a communication of notes, or the giving of oral information, on the part of the travellers. Flaubert writes, for example, of the Temple of Médinet-Abou, with its representation of the king in his royal chariot, and gives a picture corresponding fairly closely to Gautier's figuring of Pharaoh (21). Flaubert and Du Camp both note the footsteps preserved in the dust of the temple of Athos, and as a matter of fact the former remarks upon them with the same feeling which Gautier will express in his utilization of this trait, when he writes:

"Autour du temple, marques de pieds au ciseau. Personne n'a encore rien dit là-dessus, et chaque fois que je rencontre des pieds, je suis ému, c'est trop beau comme témoignage, rien que la marque d'un pied!" (22).

It is likewise in the *Notes de Voyage* that there is recorded the travellers' meeting with Sieur Rosa:

"Le Sieur Rosa.—Nous allons faire visite au sieur Rosa, marchand d'antiquités. Grec de Lemnos. . . . Dans une salle basse, au rez-de-chaussée, il y a des momies dans leur cercueil: fort beau cercueil de femme, peinture brune. . . . Le vieux Grec vit là, il a mal aux yeux et se les essuie avec son mouchoir. . . ."

"Le sieur Rosa nous vient faire visite; il a un turban blanc, une chemise de Nubien blanche, il marche sous un parapluie de coton blanc et porte à la main son chibouk et un bâton de bois blanc, terminé par un pic qu'il s'est tourné lui-même" (23).

The step is not great from this actual figure of contemporary Egypt to the Greek merchant of the *Roman de la Momie*.

Gautier's documentation was not ended here, however, and it is again in his preface that his dependence on de Rougé and on Cahen's translation of the Bible is mentioned. It is perhaps from the former that was derived authorization for the attempt at picturing the Egypt of Moses, for de Rougé's *Notice sur un manuscrit égyptien en écriture hiéroglyphique* purports to have to do with a document nearly contemporary to Moses. It is interesting to find in this manuscript, then, the existence of a note to the effect that it was "fait par le grammate Ennana, le chef des écritures" (24); Gautier's appellation of the High Priest is thus sanctioned. This and other small details of resemblance are a part of an imaginative story which deals with a changing of dynasty and the accession to the throne of a woman not of the royal house, and by de Rougé the story is dated in the dynasty of Rhameses II, predecessor of the Pharaoh contemporary to Moses. Champollion's letters, which Coleman cites, are therefore not the only possible documentary source for the situation of Tahoser and Pharaoh (25), and while the critic is no doubt justified in claiming that "its connection with the exodus of the Israelites is, of course, Gautier's invention," it should not be overlooked that in one of the novelist's admitted sources a definite reference is made to a similar situation in the time of Moses. De Rougé's article on the *Pentaur* carries this bond even further—closer to the field of Gautier's literary composition—when it notes the similarity between the Biblical style of Moses and that of this Egyptian poem contemporary to the period of his education, even claiming an Egyptian influence upon the language of the Bible. By the same reasoning, Gautier may have proposed to himself the use of the Bible as a means for the reconstruction of Egypt and, with a scholar's sanction for such a deduction, he has employed the Bible of Cahen to a large extent (26). The account of the Exodus follows Cahen often word for word, and there are included in Gautier's story various names or forms of names, and certain transformations of Biblical material suggested in the notes of this edition, which show his dependence on this source. So, for instance, he writes:

"Le sacrifice à l'Éternel n'était qu'un vain prétexte; Israël quittait à jamais la terre d'Égypte, et la momie d'Yousouf, dans son cercueil peint et doré, s'en allait sur les épaules des porteurs qui se relayaient." (27).

The Biblical passage is as follows:

"Mosché prit avec lui les ossemens de Joseph, car celui-ci avait conjuré les enfans d'Israël en disant: Dieu se souviendra de vous, alors vous ferez remonter d'ici mes ossemens avec vous."

and Cahen's note reads:

". . . *Les ossemens de Joseph*. Il est probable qu'il a été embaumé, et qu'il s'agit de sa momie. . . ." (28).

Gautier's use of his documentary source does not here, as in the *Capitaine Fracasse*, extend to an attempt to reproduce in its entirety the scriptural atmosphere; he departs from it, in fact, by his lack of emphasis on the religious element (29) and by his addition of details which bear directly on the secular story of the novel. His adoption of facts recited and of language used bears out, however, the general findings as to the type of material for which he counted upon documentary sources.

The same kind of documentation may be noted in *le Roi Candaule*. Anatole France's preface to a recent edition of this story speaks of Herodotus (i, 8-12) as its sole source (30), and finds that there is no justification there for the love of plastic beauty which Gautier ascribes to his hero. In this the late critic is avowedly in disagreement with Georges Radet (31), and, in regard to sources, Gautier himself had listed authorities for his work which seem to indicate a wider reading than the critic has reported (32). His following of the Herodotus story is exact; he makes correct mention of the Platonic legend of Gyges; his conception of the soldier's character, and the incident of his connection with Candaule's bridal procession, find their authorization in Nicholas of Damascus (33); his general rendering of the Lydian setting agrees in atmosphere, and in much of the detail, with the results of Radet's recent historical survey. That Gautier himself considered his story more than a *tour de force* is indicated by his comment on Pradier's *Nyssia* in 1848; from its starting-point in history, he has worked for the creation of a

short story, and he now finds cause for rejoicing in the extension of his literary production to further artistic fields:

"Le livret du Salon porte, au nom de Pradier, quelques lignes signées de notre nom obscur. . . .

"Ces quelques mots sont tirés d'une petite nouvelle antique, où nous avons tâché de rendre sérieusement ce que le bon La Fontaine a travesti d'une manière grotesque et bouffonne, en son style marotique, c'est-à-dire l'histoire du roi Candaule montrant sa femme au jeune Doryphore Gygès, incapable qu'il était de garder le secret d'une telle beauté.

"Nous n'aurions jamais espéré cet honneur de voir une de nos phrases taillée dans le pentélique par ce ciseau athénien qui a caressé tant de gracieuses figures de nymphes et de déesses, nous, l'humble disciple de ces purs modèles, dont nous avons tâché de rappeler dans nos vers et notre prose, les blanches images en les colorant du léger incarnat de la vie. Nous sommes fier, qu'on nous pardonne cette vanité d'artiste, d'avoir fait une étude antique traduite en marbre grec par Pradier" (34).

After this expression of the author's point of view, and after his own testimony, direct and indirect, in correspondence and in literary production, with regard to documentation and provenance of material, how misleading is the comment on his talent and method which his associate Noël Parfait addressed to Louis de Cormenin:

"Lisez-vous le *Roi Candaule*? à l'heure où je vous écris, les trois premiers feuillets ont paru. C'est, à mon avis, un magnifique poème en prose, mais rien qu'un poème. Cela manque d'invention. Les artistes seuls en apprécieront le mérite comme forme, et comme couleur. A ce point de vue plastique, on ne peut rien désirer de mieux. Quelle touche ravissante! quel admirable pastiche de l'Orient! Je m'étonne vraiment que l'on puisse faire cela sans livres, sans documents. Si notre maître et ami voulait travailler, que ne produirait-il pas? Mais c'est un écrivain, qui prodigue paresseusement son esprit, et jamais la méditation ne préside à la dépense de ses richesses. . . ." (35).

1. M. TOURNEUX, Préface au *Petit Chat de la Marquise*, p. iii-v.

2. A. DE CLAYE, Préface à l'*Omphale*, p. 9.

3. *Lovenjoul* C-485-40; letter to Henri Lacroix, without date.

4. Letter published by M. Guillemot in *Les Inédits de Gautier*.

5. *Lovenjoul* C-488-2. Letter to M. Auguste Lacaussade, février 1868.

Cf. to these requests for information the acknowledgment of documentation in his journalistic articles, as: *Tableaux de Siège*, p. 306; *Constantinople*, p. 314; *Quand on voyage*, p. 75.

6. *Lovenjoul* C-487-99, letter of January, 1847.

7. *Lovenjoul* C-488-182, letter of April, 1857.

8. Letter to Mlle. Natalie Fitzjames, 1846; cited by LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres*. . . . I, 346.

9. *La Presse*, 16 novembre 1846, cited by LOVENJOUL, *loc. cit.*

10. Cf. LOUIS VIARDOT, "Revue des principaux Musées d'Italie; Naples," in the *Artiste*, 1841, 2^e série, t. viii, 19^e livr., p. 295.
11. FRANK, *Le Capitaine Fracasse*, p. 515.
12. P. LAFOND, *Quelques décors du "Capitaine Fracasse,"* p. 203.
13. "Or, Gautier a, dans son roman, copié des pages entières de Saint-Amant, mais, ce qui est bien à noter, exclusivement des passages où l'auteur des *Visions* décrit, avec une verve endiablée, soit les merveilles du Pont-Neuf, entre autres le Poète crotté, soit la *Chambre du débauché*, soit la vie superbement paresseuse des Goinfres. Toutes ces pièces de vers dont Gautier se sert pour rehausser la couleur locale de son roman archaïque avaient été longuement analysées et louées dans l'article de 1834 sur Saint-Amant, de même que le sonnet des Goinfres. . . . En écrivant son roman, Gautier paraît avoir consulté de nouveau les descriptions de son poète, puisque les passages analogues du *Capitaine Fracasse* suivent souvent les tournures et les idées du texte primitif de plus près que l'analyse de 1834, bien qu'ils aient été sensiblement amplifiés par des images et des raisonnements de l'auteur." LEHTONEN, *Sur la Genèse du "Capitaine Fracasse,"* p. 203.
14. *Loc. cit.*, p. 211.
15. H. DAVID, "*Le Pavillon sur l'eau*"—*Sources et traitement*.
16. FLAUBERT, *Correspondance*, t. III, p. 348; letter of January 21, 1863.
17. COLEMAN, *Some Sources of the "Roman de la Momie"*; LUNN, *How Théophile Gautier made use of his sources in "le Roman de la Momie."*
18. Lovenjoul C-494-12. Letter without date.
19. JUDITH GAUTIER, *Le Collier des jours*, p. 243 ss.
20. MAXIME DU CAMP, *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*, p. 20-21.
21. FLAUBERT, *Notes de Voyage*, I, 225.
22. *Loc. cit.*, I, 219.
23. *Loc. cit.*, I, 221, 230.
24. DE ROUGÉ, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.
25. Cf. COLEMAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 349.
26. It is to be noted that Mr. Coleman considers little use was made of scriptural documentation; textual resemblances to Cahen's translation are so strong, however, that it seems unnecessary to doubt Gautier's accuracy in reporting this as one of his sources.
27. *Op. cit.*, p. 298.
28. *Exodus*, xiii, 19; edition of Cahen, note (b) to p. 55.
29. The lack of emphasis on the religious element is shown in (a) the attribution to Moses of the words of the Eternal, and (b) the condensation of the Biblical story, through lack of repetition of the commands of God in the actions of Moses—one or the other only is reported—and through omission of some of the plagues.
30. ANATOLE FRANCE, *Preface*, p. ix, note 1.
31. *Loc. cit.*, p. xiv, note 1; cf. G. RADET, *La Lydie et le monde grec* . . . with its citations of Plutarch and Pliny in support of Herodotus' ascription of this feeling to the king.
32. *Le Roi Candaule*, p. 415.
33. Cited by RADET, *loc. cit.*, p. 115-118.
34. "*Salon de 1848*," *La Presse*, 23 avril 1848.
35. Lovenjoul C-501-128, letter of October 9, 1844.

b. *Manuscript and Plan*

Théophile Gautier's habits of work, his inspirations to production, his documentation, have made apparent certain traits of his creative imagination: a preoccupation with form, a remarkable verbal facility, a dependence on sources of various kinds (literary, pictorial, observational), a solicitude for exact rendering. The process of composition itself, in choice of words and images, in stylistic work, is equally significant of the imagination of the artist. Here, as one may expect, the objective of the writer is of importance; Gautier's ideal was the rendering of the beautiful (in so far as he could escape from work undertaken purely for financial returns), and the highest type of the beautiful was for him the plastic. In his writing, then, there must be sought the means which he took to attain such a rendering and, to this end, distinctive traits of his mental processes may be made clear by an analysis of the bases of his choice of words, by the kind of form which he required of himself in answer to the instigation of his ideal, and by the very methods of producing this form—the qualities which he exacted in a finished piece of writing and for which he worked during the time of composition. Again, the proportion of relatively easy to relatively difficult composition in his finished product will give additional knowledge of his artistic creation.

To come to any conclusions in regard to such a matter, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the finished product, but also the work in process, and the evidence of the manuscripts of an author would seem indispensable to any judgment as to his characteristic choice of expressive and stylistic means. In the case of Théophile Gautier, it is possible to have such evidence. For many years, almost since the day of the author's death, there have been accounts of the marvellous beauty of Gautier's manuscripts, of their freedom from corrections of all kinds, of their regularity in form and handwriting—a visual beauty of clearness and line—and of their testimony to well-ordered facility. M. Lebègue, in his "Notice sur les poésies de la vente Bergerat" which took place in 1924, indicates this tradition clearly:

"Toutes ces pièces de vers ne présentent que peu de variantes avec l'imprimé et ont été écrites avec peu de retouches. S'il paraît surprenant que ces vers si parfaits aient pu être coulés sans bavures, rappelons le témoignage formel d'Emile Bergerat dans son beau volume consacré à Théophile Gautier: *Je ne connais pas de lui un manuscrit raturé*" (1).

That the pious memory of Bergerat exaggerated his father-in-law's facility (in spite of its extraordinary character) must be admitted from a study of the manuscripts themselves. So, again in regard to the *vente* Bergerat, opposing testimony is offered:

"C'est d'abord un recueil d'autographes, gros cahier in-folio à la forte reliure, où Bergerat avait réuni toutes les reliques du maître. Que de choses émouvantes! Voici le manuscrit de l'Histoire du Romantisme, étroits feuillets écrits au crayon par le poète étendu déjà sur son lit de mort. L'écriture garde encore son admirable netteté, mais les ratures se font plus nombreuses. . . ." (2).

Still more definite testimony, of value also for its indications in regard to *genre*, is offered by some of the autographs in this important sale, and Jasinski writes further:

"Le sonnet à Maxime Du Camp y est écrit d'abord dans sa forme connue, puis dans une autre, beaucoup plus familière. Il n'est pour ainsi dire pas de pièce où l'on ne relève ainsi des différences de détail. Gautier, dont la prose se développait avec une facilité admirable, travaillait beaucoup ses vers. Les autographes réunis par Bergerat représentent des rédactions très avancées, certaines presque achevées, mais antérieures à la rédaction définitive, car les différences sont toujours à l'avantage du texte imprimé. Sp. de Lovenjoul, qui avait eu communication de ce recueil manuscrit, a indiqué, dans son *Histoire des Œuvres de Th. Gautier*, les principales de ces variantes. Mais il n'a pu les donner toutes. En particulier, il n'a pas signalé celles que le poète a éliminées sur l'autographe même" (2).

Even in advance of an examination of the manuscripts the author's testimony in regard to them is of interest, and here, from the earliest years of his writing to the last, it is evident that the process of composition was not wholly automatic, that his thoughts could not be transcribed word for word in finished form. Corrections were made, there were various steps in the process of composition, revisions of thought and expression are reflected in the manuscript itself, and while the total amount of corrections may be slight in comparison to those of Flaubert, for example, and while it may vary according to the type of work which the author undertakes and perhaps even chronologically

within these types, these very limitations demonstrate certain creative traits. In one of his earliest compositions, thus, Gautier remarks a kind of composing process which, from the manuscripts, will be shown as characteristic of those products of his maturity, *Emaux et Camées*. He writes, in 1832, at the time of the composition of *Albertus*, to Madame Mélanie Waldor, excusing himself for not calling upon her to bring a desired article on the ground of the state of his manuscript:

" . . . Je suis si prodigieusement en retard pour mon pauvre poème que je n'ai pas un moment à moi—Duseigneur et mon portrait me mangent le peu de l'oisir que Véronique me laisseroit, si j'en étais où je devrais en être; je n'ai chez moi qu'une première épreuve, si sale, si maculée, si pochée d'encre et de corrections que je n'oserais vraiment pas vous la mettre sous les yeux—je compte en avoir une meilleure demain—je m'empresserai de vous la porter. . . ." (3).

In 1847, the author writes to M. Duponchel, director of the Académie royale de musique, asking him for the manuscript of his ballet of *Cléopâtre*, which was composed ten years earlier; he is sorry to trouble him about the matter, but would like to find this document, as he himself possesses of it only "un brouillon tout raturé et parfaitement illisible" (4). A rather different side of the process of composition is shown in a note of *La Presse*, of April 7, 1840, in which the editors excuse themselves for a delay in the publication of the *Voyage en Espagne* by referring to the loss in transit of two sheets of this third letter, on which were written two pieces of verse. "Nous nous sommes empressés d'en informer notre voyageur qu'il nous renvoyât un double de ses vers; mais, les ayant plutôt improvisés que composés, il nous répond 'qu'il n'en a pas gardé copie'" (5). If this excuse was valid, it would seem to imply an unusual type of composition, for from the manuscripts of *España* which are available in the Collection Lovenjoul, the designation of "improvisation" would seem incorrectly applied to the poems of this series.

It is, indeed, in this collection of manuscripts that may be found most of the data available in regard to Théophile Gautier's process of literary composition, and a review of some of the individual documents preserved in it will indicate at least a part of its value for the study of the author's creative imagina-

tion. *España* is not the only poetry represented there; some versions of the earlier poems, various pieces of occasional verse, a number of the more important compositions of *Emaux et Camées*, help toward completeness in a study of method, and their evidence is entirely in support of Gautier's own description of his process: there are corrections, various stages of thought and expression—and the manner of creation can be deduced in part from this material. The poetry manuscripts do not, however, constitute the only available evidence: *feuilletons* of dramatic criticism, accounts of many annual Salons, literary articles, and many fragments of the original prose work have been assembled, in various stages of completion, and from them also Gautier's creative process is seen more clearly. It is not without interest, for example, to find that this writer, who was renowned for his facility of expression, hesitated from time to time in the initial stages of his composition; that even so late as 1863, when his journalistic habit was carrying him swiftly through the building-up of *Capitaine Fracasse*, he could still be dubious as to the most suitable beginning for an article on Correggio. From its coincidence with his ordinary work as an art-critic, this must have presented no especial difficulties, yet he writes:

"Lorsque le domaine de l'art semble entièrement parcouru et que les grands maîtres ont planté leur pavillon. . . ."

"Il y a, dans l'art, des momens où il semble que toutes les places soient occupées et qu'il ne reste plus rien à faire. Des maîtres représentant chacun un idéal divers sont assis sur des trônes d'or. . . ."

"Il y a dans l'art des momens où il semble que toutes les places sont occupées et qu'il ne reste plus rien à faire; celui-ci a pris le style terrible et grandiose; celui-là la beauté. . . ." (6).

In this instance, it is a question of the form of expression to be chosen, and the central idea remains relatively unchanged; in another piece of work, written many years earlier and with a different object—for it is a short-story which the author has in mind—there is likewise hesitation as to method, but in this case more far-reaching, in that the entire setting of the tale varies with the diverse beginnings which occurred to the author:

"Il y a quatre ans j'étais à Cordoue juste. . . ."

"Il y a quatre ans j'étais à Cordoue où je voudrais bien être encore; malgré une chaleur torride, à faire pâmer les lézards, augmentée encore

"par l'incendie des chaumes qui se fait après la moisson, j'errais bravement dans le lacs de ruelles désertes qui environnent la mosquée n'ayant d'autre distraction que de lire. . . ."

"J'ai rapporté de Cordoue un tas de plaintes, de romances, de légendes, de prières, de relations de miracles, imprimées sur papier à chandelle, avec des têtes de clous, ornées de gravures sur bois d'un primitif à faire honte aux images du Juif errant, d'Henriette et Damon, et de Geneviève de Brabant. Je les feuillette de temps à autre et j'y trouve un plaisir que ne me procurerait peut-être pas une lecture plus sérieuse et plus littéraire, etc., etc. . . ." (7).

Here again the manuscript shows a preoccupation with form, and with form in a fairly broad sense; the author was willing in some cases at least to experiment not only with the *genres* of writing, but also with expression within these *genres*.

The presence of a kind of plan behind the verbal facility which Gautier's contemporaries noted and which they often considered an almost magical faculty for improvisation, indicates, for the process of composition, a certain dependence on recorded fact which is comparable to Gautier's use of source material, observational and documentary, in the inception and development of his works. This is attested by manuscript evidence. Gautier did not scorn to make notes of what he saw in foreign countries or at expositions of new or famous pictures, nor were his imaginative prose works, published from day to day in the newspapers, also composed entirely from day to day. In his poetry, moreover, a guiding idea seems to have been at the basis of his formal effort. The kind of foundation on which he built in these cases, and the manner in which he developed it—by descriptive detail, imagery, stylistic means working toward especial accentuation, toward precision, etc.—will become evident from the reading of his original manuscript notes, from the type of plan which he drew up for his stories, from the fundamental notations of themes—or even words and rhyme-schemes—around which he constructed his most careful poetry.

For the kind of groundwork done in connection with his prose, there is some illustrative material in the Collection Lovenjoul. Here are found, for example, a number of the notes of his secretary and his friends which, as already remarked, were incorporated into his own *feuilletons*, but there are also more

valuable documents for the history of his artistic inventions in the notes which the author himself took. These *cahiers de voyage* and various indications of *feuilleton* material are supplemented by the work actually designed for publication, of which the manuscript, in diverse stages, shows further steps in the process of composition. The notes taken by the author are of interest not only from the point of view of his decisions between artistic theory and the public interest as determinants of subject-matter, but also for their bearing on his own perceptive processes. Gautier, indeed, answers the reproach of his friends, that there is a lack of balance in his material (Turgan's letter in regard to the *Roman de la Momie* will be recalled), by the simple statement that his own impression—that which was to be reproduced—led him to the over-accentuation of certain characters of the material:

"Tu me dis que ma ménagerie pêche, par l'abondance du Rhinocéros et l'exiguïté du Lion. Le Rhinocéros seul m'a frappé, et cette faute est la reproduction de l'effet senti par moi. J'explique, je n'excuse pas. . . ." (8).

The exactitude of this analysis of process is made clear by findings in regard to the inception of Gautier's work. In the case of fiction, for example, the original emphasis on certain striking features in the Fête de l'Hôtel de ville, which appeared in his *feuilleton*, and the reappearance of these same points of interest in *Fortunio*, provide an instance of the influence of perceptive material on the finished product. In general, of course, it is more difficult to trace this influence in the imaginative work of the author on account of an ignorance of *all* the circumstances of his daily life of observation and reading, but its existence may justly be presumed on the analogy of the construction of his *Salons* and *Voyages*. For *Militona*, moreover, one may come to some understanding of the process of composition in its original stages. This story was written several years after Gautier's first voyage to Spain, and in fact after his visit of 1845. On both of these occasions he had been impressed not only with the natural beauty of the country, but also with the bull-fights as a picturesque occasion and with the charm of the Spanish *manola*. The contrast of the vigorous and expressive Iberian character with the

usual timid and colourless temperament known to him in the young women of France and England had made itself felt, while the country itself, with its old-time customs and its fervour of visual effect and intensity of life, had seemed to him quite in accord with the requirements of his meridional nature. His actual material and its emphasis were provided by his travels, and he seems to have chosen deliberately, in advance of the actual writing of the tale, the method in which he would best be able to present them. The name *Militona*, as a matter of fact, is written by him on the inside cover of the *cahier de voyage* which was used during his first trip to Spain, and among his manuscripts there are found autograph fragments which give a sketch of the plot of the story he is to write. *Militona* was not an improvisation, though it may have been written from day to day in accordance with the requirements of the *feuilleton*; it depended upon a carefully worked-out plan which would give the author opportunity for the inclusion of desired material. The groundwork for his initial descriptions is seen from the opening words of this plan:

"Don Cléto doit se marier à Mlle. Amalia élevée dans un pensionnat au goût français; il s'ennuie; on lui chante des airs de Bellini, sur des pianos fêlés; on lui fait boire du thé. Il va à la course des Taureaux—il a vu à la représentation précédente une jeune fille—une manola charmante, qu'il espère retrouver. . . ." (9).

The development continues; Gautier even notes with single lines the direction of the city streets through which his characters will move and names them carefully in his plan. In the fourth part of the story, he shows some hesitation as to the way in which the development shall proceed, but comes to a conclusion in the end. It is not definitive; the finished product will show some modifications in management of action and a condensation of interest through more extended use of the main characters than the plan would indicate; but by it the composing process is illustrated:

"4. Le lendemain Don Cléto va s'habiller chez le muchacho et commence à errer d'un air délibéré dans les mauvaises rues mal famées; il entre dans une boutique et se met à boire. La nuit vient, il se promène devant la maison pour savoir les tenants (*Pepe est parti pour aller chercher les taureaux. Militona descend tout effrayé*) et aboutissant mais (*pas de*) Militona ne se

"montre pas. Il monte. Personne. Il s'en va et une vieille lui remet un papier contenant ces mots: N'essayez pas de me voir. Il y va de votre vie."

The fifth part also shows hesitation as to the progress of the action, but in it, from the start, is demonstrated the intention of the author to include in his tale a scene which had struck his imagination during the voyage to Spain—the combat between serenaders for sole occupancy of the street of the beloved:

"Don Cléto retourne le jour suivant. Il veut pénétrer ce mystère. Un grand diable paraît au clair de lune et chante une sérénade. Don Cléto qui est brave et bien armé prend sa guitarre et chante un couplet. Combat. Don Cléto est blessé (*grièvement Pépé qui le blesse aussi.—Passe*) passe un ronde de nuit. Pépé s'enfuit. . . ."

That Gautier himself considered *Militona* of interest as a reflection of his impressions and also as a piece of fiction (of which he had carefully constructed the plot), is clear from a notice in his handwriting which was apparently destined for announcement in the columns of *La Presse*:

" . . . La Presse publiera (*Militona*) un roman de M. Théophile Gautier intitulé *Militona (Le séjour)* dont la scène se passe en Espagne. L'esprit d'observation et la connaissance parfaite (*qu'il possède*) du pays (*que nul ne peut lui refuser*) garantissent (*que*) qu'à l'intérêt du récit se joindra l'exactitude des descriptions et des détails de mœurs " (10).

Gautier's process of composition in these cases, then, illustrates two points which have already been noted in other connections, but which in this new field are shown to be of even greater importance for his psychology as an artist: the dependence of his literary work on what was pleasing to him (and in this the individual perceptions themselves, as well as the general ideas bound up with his sentiments, may be included), and the technical habit—with preliminary work on the form in which his interests were to be expressed. As already noted, the non-fiction prose is especially indicative of his general preliminary process, and its study not only further confirms the points in question, but provides additional information with regard to the perceptions themselves and the method of their rendition. One may take as examples certain notes for the *Salon* of 1859, on Hébert, Baudry and Curzon, and the finished criticisms of the same paintings which

appeared in the *Moniteur universel*, or again, the note-book of the first visit to Spain and the manuscript and published versions of the *Voyage*, with the addition of certain poems of *España* in their unfinished and definitive forms.

The notes on the Salon of 1859 are inscribed on one sheet of paper and are made up of the description of nine pictures by Hébert, Baudry and Curzon, with three small and very rough sketches, two of the Baudry, one of the Hébert; they are written in pencil, and are rather difficult to read. Those on Baudry begin as follows:

"Baudry.—toilette de Vénus—petit bois grêlé—Hermès ou Priape de marbre colombe se becquetant vélarium safrané . . . chapiteau de colonne corinthienne" (11).

Then follows the sketch, giving the indication of the principal forms, without any shading, and with the *pose* only; there is added an indication of colour: the word *bleue* written in the left background. In the finished article, there is given in the following sentences the pose which in the notes is drawn and not described in words:

" . . . La déesse, dont le corps porte sur une jambe, et qui s'appuie de son genou replié sur un tertre moussu où se fripe un bout de draperie bleue, se présente de dos, les reins cambrés par le mouvement des bras ramassant derrière la tête une opulente torsade de cheveux. . . . Le bras droit, mollement abandonné sur la hanche, s'enlace au bras potelé d'un petit Cupidon tout frisé et tout rose, qui, de sa lèvre cerise, rit au miroir et se contourne dans une pose gracieusement maniérée. . . .

" . . . La déesse nue tord d'une main négligente, sur sa nuque dorée, cette chevelure souple, soyeuse, luisante, dont la sueur est un parfum; l'Amour lui tient un miroir d'acier poli, où elle ne se regarde même pas, tant elle est sûre d'être toujours belle, toujours sans rides, sans pattes d'oie, sans taches de rousseur. . . ." (12).

There is here an addition of many details to the notes taken in words and in lines: amplification of the description from memory of forms and colours, and also a certain amount of reflective or interpretative material. That the latter may possibly have been a part of the original experience of the critic, and not simply the writer's means of developing his subject, is indicated by a further notation in the *Salon*:

“ . . . Ce chapiteau, débris d’une colonne tombée, vestige d’un temple disparu, nous inquiète à cette place:— a-t-il un sens symbolique et signifie-t-il que déjà le beau temps de Grèce est passée . . . ?

“ Que telle ait été ou non l’idée de M. Baudry, cela importe peu. Permis au critique et au commentateur de chercher des intentions plus ou moins ingénieuses dans l’œuvre qu’ils analysent . . . ” (12).

The other paintings of Baudry are indicated briefly in Gautier’s notes, but for Hébert he enters into more detail in his first record of the Salon, and his finished description of the same paintings are proportionately fuller, more developed in pictorial detail and supplemented by critical comment. His notes on the women of Cervarolles at the fountain are of interest:

“ Hébert. Les femmes à la fontaine—Cervarolles—femme chemise blanche pot en cuivre transversal—corset violet tablier violet grandes boucles d’oreilles tampon entre la cruche et la tête poing sur la hanche—petite fille quelques marches plus haut petite fille hagarde avec un bidon en bois suspendu par une ficelle corset violâtre bordé de rouge—jupe jaune—pomme verte à moitié mangée—chiffon sur la tête—pieds joints comme un Isis—lèvre inférieure pendante très sauvage—femme remontante chemise blonde très souple—linge effiloché sur la tête—jupon chasuble—fendu, sur le côté arrêté à la hanche—galons d’or passé formant comme bretelle—rattaché sur l’épaule avec rubans.—

“ Sur le flanc quelque ficelle ceinture verte et orange lisière rouge . . . escalier tournant sous une voûte ” (11).

To supplement this verbal description, the critic has added a pencilled indication of pose, as in the case of Baudry’s *Vénus*; here the woman’s figure appears in outline, with a jar on her head, and a hand resting on her hip; one foot is lower by a step than the other. It is on this basis, then, that there is built up the long and full account of the painting which appears in Gautier’s “*Salon de 1859*,” and which he begins with reflections no doubt inspired by this particular painting, but in no sense aiding directly in its description:

“ Les Cervarolles, c’est-à-dire les femmes de Cervara, ne représentent rien; pas la plus petite anecdote ne peut se rattacher à elles; aucun drame ne les agite. Ce sont des femmes qui vont chercher de l’eau à la fontaine, voilà tout. Et pourtant d’où vient qu’elles vous attirent avec un charme et une violence irrésistibles? C’est qu’elles se meuvent dans la sphère sereine de l’art, comme ces danseuses d’Herculanum ou de Pompéi sur leur fond noir. Elles sont en dehors de l’accident et de la particularité, et ne cherchent pas à vous intéresser d’une façon malhonnête par quelque circonstance vulgairement attendrissante. Elles offrent aux yeux l’échantillon d’une race sauvagement superbe et accomplissent avec simplicité une action humaine antique comme le monde, et qu’Homère ne dédaignerait pas de décrire, lui qui mène les princesses laver le linge à la rivière.

"Par un escalier aux marches chancelantes, usées et disjointes, qui s'enfonce et tourne sous une voûte de maçonnerie composite, enclavant des morceaux de marbre parmi des briques noyées dans un ciment, descend une belle jeune fille, portant, comme une svelte colonne son chapiteau, un pot de cuivre rouge bosselé et posé à travers de sa tête, sur un tampon de linge semblable au coussinet d'une cariatide. D'une bras arrondi comme une anse de vase grec, elle soutient son fardeau, et de l'autre, traçant un angle, elle appuie sa main à sa hanche. Un de ses beaux pieds nus porte le poids léger de son corps, le second va quitter la marche supérieure, et l'on en aperçoit l'extrémité sous les plis de la jupe courte. Cette pose d'une élégance antique se rythme admirablement, et chante une de ces mélodies de la ligne auxquelles tout œil artiste est si sensible. Une pareille attitude, un contour heureusement mené du bout des doigts au talon, voilà ce qui constitue l'idée en peinture. Les Grecs, dans leur merveilleuse statuaire, n'en eurent guère de plus dramatiques . . ." (12).

The description continues at some length; each of the figures which appears in the picture, and on which the critic has taken his notes of important traits, is presented with rich detail of colour and line, and with an enumeration of attributes and a wealth of comparison and reflection which the original notes do not predict. The exactitude of the reproduction, together with the vivifying, almost wholly conceptual additions of the writer, is striking:

"Dans le fond, remonte, son urne remplie, une femme de la plus grande tournure, vêtue d'une chemise blonde comme les tissus de l'Orient, plissée comme les chlamydes grecques, et coiffée d'un linge qui s'effiloche en longues franges. Une sorte de robe épaisse et galonnée d'or comme une chasuble, fendue sur le côté, rattachée à l'épaule par des nœuds de ruban, lacée au flanc de quelques cordonnets lâches, sanglée au-dessus des hanches d'une ceinture basse, vert et orange, liserée de rouge à l'intérieur, mais tout cela avec des tons miroités, flétris, passés, d'une harmonie admirable, bride sur ce corps souple et mince et fait bouillonner le linge à tous ses interstices. La main qui soutient le vase de cuivre rouge indique, car on ne voit pas le visage de la femme, que ce n'est plus une jeune fille. On dirait, pour la majesté de la démarche, une prêtresse puisant l'eau des libations à une fontaine sacrée."

Here, as in the first descriptive paragraph, the author makes use of comparisons which call to mind objects of visual perception which are not specific objects but, rather, designations of a class and evocative of certain concepts which all enter into his reader's probable idea of antique art. So one finds the chemise "blonde comme les tissus de l'Orient, plissée comme les chlamydes grecques," the majesty of bearing which denotes a priestess drawing water from a sacred fountain, and above, the young girl

who bears her water-jar "comme une svelte colonne son chapiteau, . . . sur un tampon . . . semblable au coussinet d'une cariatide." Her arm is rounded like the handle of a Greek vase, and the whole pose is one of antique elegance. The author seeks to excite in his readers an impression of Hébert's picture which shall be comparable to that which he himself received, and he does this by means of exact reproduction of his verbal and drawn notations, amplified by memory-material in many details of form and colour, and also by comparisons destined to arouse in each of his readers an individual train of thought with regard to ancient art, which shall by its richness of conceptual content produce the proper atmosphere of the picture in accordance with his experience of it on perception.

An examination of Gautier's first *cahier de voyage*, with its transformations in the *Voyage en Espagne* and in *España*, is no less instructive as to his literary method. The notebook in question is very small, and its worn and ragged appearance justifies the assumption that the young traveller carried it in his pocket during the long and difficult coaching-stages of his journey through the mountains of Spain. It contains notes of the most diverse character, of which a part were apparently written while the coach was in motion and as the objects described passed in front of Gautier's eyes. Some are isolated remarks; again, there are passages covering several pages, in continuous description. There is no one portion of the trip exclusively treated, and one finds, sometimes in pen, sometimes in pencil, notations of the approach to Spain and the actual entrance through the Pyrenees, or, again, of Córdoba and the Guadalquivir. Exercises in Spanish grammar, tables of verbs, Spanish verses and their translations, fragments of conversational phrases to serve in social intercourse—at the bull-fights, at the *tertulias*, in winning the friendship of the "trois Grâces de Grenade"—all are recorded here. From time to time inscriptions appearing on monuments of interest are recorded by the traveller, and, again, he will add to his descriptions or to his record of dimensions, general lay-out, etc., little pencil sketches indicating the grouping

of pillars or the general effect of a Moorish arch. There is a draughtsman-like notation of the arrangement of sails on one of the river-boats, and the ferocious expression of a beggar, the tilt of a *majo's* hat, the silhouette of mountains as seen from a neighbouring height, have been included in the record which the traveller will later attempt to reproduce in words.

It is these drawings and the hour-by-hour description, together with certain inscriptions and a few notations of general ideas inspired by the surroundings through which he was passing, which constitute the most interesting part of this *cahier* from the point of view of Gautier's artistic imagination. A detailed examination of two of the parallel passages in the *cahier* and in the *Voyage en Espagne* may be made, for the determination of the author's method of noting and developing non-pictorial material, where, moreover, the fiction-interest which accounted for certain traits of *Militona* is likewise lacking. There is, for example, a description of the statue of the archangel Raphaël at Córdoba which appears in the travel-notes, and which is reproduced in the *Voyage*. This statue, according to the printed version of the description (13), was an object of especial interest to the traveller. In his notes he describes it in words and also gives a small drawing of it, together with a copy of the inscription. The sketch depicts the column, with an indication of the details in the capital, and with a partial notation of the details of the base; the latter are indistinct, and given in silhouette only; beside the drawing is pencilled "colonne plus haute" (14). The written description is as follows:

" . . . L'archange Raphaël sur une colonne bizarre—l'archange est doré; le stèle est de rocaille avec un lion des plus fantastiques et un cheval qui ne l'est pas moins, sur les rochers s'élève une petite tour de granit rose qui sert de base à une haute colonne de marbre grisâtre à chapiteau corinthien doré; le tout repose sur une esplanade . . . "

In the *Voyage* there is, as reproduction of this sight which so impressed the traveller, a description in which the traits of drawing and notes are most exactly combined, where the first perception is presented with great accuracy, but where the whole serves for the introduction of a legend into the relation of

successive events of travel and, moreover, allows of certain reflections of Gautier's personal artistic pleasures. The paragraph reproducing the *cahier* notes reads:

"Malgré ses airs moresques, Cordoue est pourtant bonne chrétienne et placée sous la protection spéciale de l'archange Raphaël. Du balcon de notre *parador*, nous voyions s'élever un monument assez bizarre en l'honneur de ce patron céleste; nous eûmes envie de l'examiner de plus près. L'archange Raphaël, du haut de sa colonne, l'épée à la main, les ailes déployées, scintillant de dorure, semble une sentinelle veillant éternellement sur la ville confiée à sa garde. La colonne est de granit gris avec un chapiteau corinthien de bronze doré, et repose sur une petite tour ou lanterne de granit rose, dont le soubassement est formé par des rocailles où sont groupés un cheval, un palmier, un lion et un monstre marin des plus fantastiques; quatre statues allégoriques complètent cette décoration. Dans le socle se trouve enchâssé le cercueil de l'évêque Pascal, personnage célèbre par sa piété et sa dévotion au saint archange."

There follows a copy of the inscription and the legend which accounted for the appearance of Raphaël as guardian of the city of Córdoba. Then the description continues, taking up the final point noted in the *cahier*, and introducing the personal preoccupation of the critic:

"Une esplanade entouré de grilles s'étend autour de cette construction et permet de la contempler sur toutes les faces. Les statues, ainsi placées, ont quelque chose d'élégant et de svelte qui me plaît beaucoup et qui dissimule admirablement la nudité d'une terrasse, d'une place publique ou d'une cour trop vaste. La statuette posée sur une colonne de porphyre, dans la cour du palais des Beaux-Arts de Paris peut donner une petite idée du parti qu'on pourrait tirer pour l'ornementation de cette manière d'ajuster les figures qui prennent ainsi un aspect monumental qu'elles n'auraient pas sans cela. Cette réflexion nous était déjà venue devant la sainte Vierge et le saint Christophe d'Ecija."

In comparing this whole passage, then, with the notes in which Gautier recorded his perception of the column, it can be remarked that the literary and critical ideas are added only in the printed version, although their presence in a manuscript written almost immediately after the taking of the notes and their accordance with the usual preoccupations of the writer argue for a certain spontaneity of appearance. On the other hand, there are in the notes indications of other than pure sensation-elements, and the *impression* of the monument on the observer is carefully set down, for the designations of *bizarre* and *fantastique* are given from the first moment and recur in the definitive version as an integral

part of the experience. The statue of Raphaël interested Gautier not only from the point of view of form and colour, it was worthy of inclusion in his account of travel not only for the opportunity it offered for expression of literary and critical interests, but it also charmed the traveller by its strange and unusual quality, and as such was continued in his *feuilleton* with evocative value.

Another passage to which reference may be made in this connection is that in which the author describes going down the Guadalquivir. Here the *cahier* again offers data in the written word and in a small sketch:

" . . . Rives plates, eaux jaunes, aspect flamand, ligne de terre entre le ciel et l'eau, hérons—bateaux, voile en ciseaux, quelquefois avec une autre petite voile ainsi posée. . . .

"Entrée en mer—coucher de soleil—arrivé à Cadix à la nuit lanternes des vaisseaux et de la ville . . ." (15).

Again there is a notation of general aspect, with colours of the water and of the sky, forms of the ships' sails, and various descriptive details, but there is also a conceptual summary, the "aspect flamand." To this must be added the little drawing, denoting a boat with scissors-sails and a third sail aloft between the two. From this material Gautier writes a paragraph which commences with his personal reaction to the scene in question, which describes the visual details in full, which contains psychological analysis, well-justified by his original notes, in the development of the "aspect flamand":

"Les rives du Guadalquivir, du moins en descendant vers la mer, n'ont pas cet aspect enchanteur que leur prêtent les descriptions des poètes et des voyageurs. Je ne sais pas où ils ont été prendre les forêts d'orangers et de grenadiers dont ils parfument leurs romances. Dans la réalité, on ne voit que des berges peu élevées, sablonneuses, couleur d'ocre, que des eaux jaunes et troublées, dont la teinte terreuse ne peut être attribuée aux pluies, si rares dans ce pays. J'avais déjà remarqué sur le Tage ce manque de limpidité de l'eau, qui vient peut-être de la grande quantité de poussière que le vent y précipite et de la nature friable des terrains traversés. Le bleu si dur du ciel y est aussi pour quelque chose et par son extrême intensité fait paraître sales les tons de l'eau, toujours moins éclatants. La mer seule peut lutter de transparence et d'azur contre un semblable ciel. Le fleuve allait toujours s'élargissant, les rives décroissaient et s'aplatissaient, et l'aspect général du paysage rappelait assez la physionomie de l'Escaut entre Anvers et Ostende. Ce souvenir flamand en pleine Andalousie est assez bizarre à propos du Guadalquivir au nom moresque; mais ce rapport se présenta à mon esprit si naturellement, qu'il fallait que la ressemblance fut bien réelle, car je ne pensais guère, je vous le jure, ni à l'Escaut, ni au voyage

"que j'ai fait en Flandre il y a quelque six ou sept ans. . . . Pour tous personnages, des hérons et des cigognes, une patte pliée sous le ventre, l'autre plongée à demi dans l'eau, attendaient le passage de quelque poisson dans une immobilité si complète, qu'on les eût pris pour des oiseaux de bois fichés sur une baguette. Des barques avec des voiles latines posées en ciseaux descendaient et remontaient le cours du fleuve sous le même vent, phénomène que je n'ai jamais bien compris, quoiqu'on me l'ait expliqué plusieurs fois. Quelques-uns de ces bateaux portaient une troisième petite voile en forme de triangle isocèle, posée dans l'écartement produit par les pointes divergentes des deux grandes voiles: ce grément est très-pittoresque" (16).

The little triangular sail of the last sentence is that which impressed the traveller to the point of inclusion in his drawing of the picturesque rigging; the herons have also reappeared and become important characters in contrast to their bare mention in the notes; the Flemish aspect of the country has been localized and linked with an actual scene which had itself entered into the traveller's experience, thus adding a precise and distinctive character to the general evocation, and illustrating, for the conceptual material, a development similar to that of the observational. That Gautier's notes could be but an indication of exceptional richness of experience, capable of finished reproduction upon such simple stimulation of his memory, is evident also from the development which he gives to the "coucher de soleil" and to the "lanternes des vaisseaux et de la ville" inscribed upon entering into the sea from the river, and upon arriving at the city of Cadix during the night:

"Le soir approchait et le soleil descendait majestueusement dans la mer sur un escalier étincelant formé par cinq ou six marches de nuages de la plus riche pourpre.

"Il était nuit noire lorsque nous arrivâmes à Cadix. Les lanternes des vaisseaux, des barques à l'ancre dans la rade, les lumières de la ville, les étoiles du ciel, criblaient le clapotis des vagues de millions de paillettes d'or, d'argent. de feu; dans les endroits tranquilles, la réflexion des fanaux traçait, en s'allongeant dans la mer, de longues colonnes de flammes d'un effet magique. La masse énorme des remparts s'ébauchait bizarrement dans l'épaisseur de l'ombre" (17).

Here, as in other developments of notes for prose composition, Gautier gives a combination of material emphasizing the various points which interested him as an observer; in these must be included his general impression as well as the actual visual detail.

The analysis may be carried one step further by the considera-

tion of poetic compositions which found their inspiration in the travels of the author, and the development of which, from original notes and *feuilleton* records to the finished piece, may be followed in the manuscripts. The detailed study of such a poem as "*Le Pin des landes*" will necessarily anticipate to a certain extent some of the conclusions to be drawn from Gautier's choice of vocabulary and stylistic means; nevertheless, it holds a legitimate place in the investigation of the author's groundwork and its general development. In the *cahier*, then, fragments of the notes which deal with the Landes read as follows:

" . . . Landes genêts bruyères terrains gris violets, bleuâtres puis et végétations sauvages. . . .

" . . . Les landes recommencent; pinadas, genêts, bruyères flaques d'eau, sable blanc . . . anciens débris de la route de bois. . . . Pins taillés pour obtenir la résine. Aspect de désolation . . . continuation de pinadas. Aperçu des lièges pour la première fois, grands arbres pittoresques qui tiennent à la fois du caroubier et de l'olivier . . ." (18).

The corresponding passages in the *Voyage* contain the usual development of visual detail and of personal impression:

"Au sortir de Bordeaux, les landes recommencent plus tristes, plus décharnées et plus mornes, s'il est possible; des bruyères, des genêts et des *pinadas* (forêts de pins); . . . c'est un spectacle fort lugubre et fort peu récréatif. On n'aperçoit d'autre arbre que le pin avec son entaille d'où coule la résine. Cette large blessure dont la couleur saumon tranche avec les tons gris de l'écorce, donne un air on ne peut plus lamentable à ces arbres souffreteux et privés de la plus grande partie de leur sève. On dirait une forêt injustement égoignée qui lève les bras au ciel pour lui demander justice. . . .

"Lorsque le jour parut, nous étions encore dans les landes; mais les pins étaient entremêlés de lièges, arbres que je m'étais toujours représentés sous la forme de bouchons, et qui sont en effet des arbres énormes qui tiennent à la fois du chêne et du caroubier pour la bizarrerie de l'attitude, la difformité et la rugosité des branches. Des espèces d'étangs d'eau saumâtre et de couleur plombée s'étendaient de chaque côté de la route. . . ."

"En sortant du département de la Charente, on rencontre la première lande: ce sont d'immenses nappes de terre grise, violette, bleuâtre, avec des ondulations plus ou moins prononcées. Une mousse courte et rare, des bruyères d'un ton roux et des genêts rabougris forment toute la végétation. . . . C'est la tristesse de la Thébàide égyptienne, et à chaque minute l'on s'attend à voir défiler des dromadaires et des chameaux; on ne dirait pas que l'homme ait jamais passé par là" (19).

The poem which this scene inspired was published in Gautier's second *feuilleton* of the *Voyage en Espagne*, on June 5, 1840, in *La Presse*, and its relation to the observations of the traveller,

to his notes and to his prose article on the same subject, is evident from the first stanza :

" On ne voit en passant par les Landes désertes,
Vrai Saharah français, poudré de sable blanc,
Surgir de l'herbe sèche et des flaques d'eaux vertes
D'autre arbre que le pin avec sa plaie au flanc " (20).

There is here the initial impression of the pine as already reproduced in the notes and in the printed version, and both of these sources are needed for the details of this quatrain, for if the comparison to the Saharah is a transposition of the "Thébaïde égyptienne" of the *Voyage*, the "sable blanc" has come to the poem direct from the *cahier*, without the intermediary of the prose version. The second stanza contains reflections on man as a destructive agent, the "avare bourreau de la création," developed with romantic and entirely literary phrases, and with a personification of the tree, an ascription to it of pain, and an absence of colouring, which are lacking in the prose version and which seem to indicate a specific poetic process. In the third stanza, the pine as it stands straight at the side of the road is compared to a wounded soldier who wishes to die upright. This is an interpretation which is different from that of the *Voyage*, with its "forêt injustement égorgée qui lève les bras au ciel pour lui demander justice"; it is still further developed in the last quatrain :

" Le poëte est ainsi dans les Landes du monde;
Lorsqu'il est sans blessure, il garde son trésor.
Il faut qu'il ait au cœur une entaille profonde
Pour épancher ses vers, divines larmes d'or!"

This entire idea is not in the prose version, it is in the *notes de voyage*, for on the inside of the cover of the *cahier* is found this sentence :

" Les pins rendent leur résine lorsqu'on les blesse—ainsi fait le génie qui pleure ses larmes les plus précieuses par la bouche de ses blessures."

The poet, who has just published his *Comédie de la Mort*, who is writing an account of his first real travels, makes a sharp division in his material, and while he sets down in his notebook the observations, the impressions, the reflections, from which his diverse work

will be built up, the method of development will be made to vary. The finished description will be dependent on a part of these notes, and will contain a certain amount of conceptual, as well as observational, material; the poem will make use of this conceptual material, and of other original notations of the same order, gaining in interpretative value what it loses in exactitude and vividness of description by its generalization and by its more formal phraseology. Just what are the details of these two processes of development in Gautier's artistic creation, what types of imagery he employs, and what stylistic ends he effects, remain for consideration.

1. R. LEBÈGUE, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
2. R. JASINSKI, *Des documents sur Th. Gautier*.
3. *Lovenjoul* C-485-385; lettre du 23 mai 1832.
4. V. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Lundis d'un chercheur*, p. 24.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
6. *Lovenjoul* C-413-172, 173, 174; written at Nohant, September 10, 1863.
7. *Lovenjoul* C-408-14; début autographe inédit d'un travail inachevé de 1844, intitulé *Don Jayme d'Aragon et la tête de mort*.
8. *Lovenjoul* C-486-124; letter of February 6 or 7, 1851, to Louis de Cormenin, in regard to the *feuilleton* of *La Presse*, February 3, on the "Ménagerie de M. Huguet de Marsilia".
9. *Lovenjoul* C-408-24; the portions in italics but not in parentheses are manuscript additions; those in italics and enclosed in parentheses are struck out in the manuscript.
10. *Lovenjoul* C-408-25.
11. *Lovenjoul* C-413-37.
12. "Salon de 1859," *le Moniteur universel*, 30 avril 1859.
13. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 308; it is to be noted that the manuscript of this passage is preserved, but that it shows no wide divergence from the definitive version reprinted from the *feuilleton* which appeared immediately following the journey.
14. *Cahier du voyage en Espagne*, *Lovenjoul* C-416, folio 25, recto.
15. *Ibid.*, folio 4.
16. *Loc. cit.*, p. 339.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
18. *Loc. cit.*, folios 2 and 3.
19. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 5, 13-14.
20. *Poésies complètes*, II, 94.

c. *Choice of Vocabulary and Metaphor*

The importance of the choice of words and imagery, for the determination of an author's individuality, is not to be doubted. Many studies of such a choice have been made in order to demon-

strate the particular stylistic effects of a writer, in order to make comprehensible his literary ranking. The same type of investigation is equally valuable for the understanding of his creative endowment. So Hilpert, in his examination of the style of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, writes:

“Die Form ist durchaus die Projektion des inneren Vorgangs, noch mehr: jedes Wort fast ist eine solche Projektion, jedes Wort fast hat seinen Vorstellungs—oder Begriffs—seinen Gefühls—oder seinen Knüpfungswert, und mit dieser Kompliziertheit ist es Bestandteil des Bewusstseinskomplexes, den es ausdrückt, wird von ihm bestimmt und bestimmt ihn wiederum . . .” (1).

Kostyleff, in his *Recherches sur l'imagination créative*, goes still further and maintains that from the choice of verbal formulæ may be judged the truth of any literary talent, in that the real genius will be characterized by a personal choice of verbal terms. For this, “il faut avoir un vocabulaire très riche en nuances et s'en servir avec un goût personnel, autrement dit . . . posséder un mécanisme préformé de réactions verbales” (2). Just how such a vocabulary is formed has, according to Kostyleff, not been definitely determined, but he supposes that it must have developed from all that the author hears or learns from reading.

“Nous avons même tout lieu de penser qu'il ne s'agit pas là du seul vocabulaire, mais de l'association des termes verbaux avec certaines images ou certains états affectifs dont la reproduction permet des rapprochements inattendus et enrichit le processus de la décharge verbale. . . .”

The science of words was a preoccupation of Théophile Gautier, and he continually praised in his contemporaries and associates the skill of manipulation which they, in turn, had ascribed to him, and which, for him, was often linked with an intrinsic pleasure quite unconnected with the literary result. Of Victor Hugo he writes, for example:

“Personne n'a la science des noms comme Victor Hugo. Il en trouve toujours d'étranges, de sonores, de caractéristiques, qui donnent une physionomie au personnage et se gravent ineffacement dans la mémoire” (3).

In Théodore de Banville, again, he praises the attitude of the poet, who considers words of great value in themselves:

"Banville a le sentiment de la beauté des mots; il les aime riches, brillants et rares, et il les place sertis d'or autour de son idée comme un bracelet de pierreries autour d'un bras de femme; c'est là un des charmes et peut-être le plus grand de ses vers. On peut leur appliquer ces remarques si fines de Joubert: 'Les mots s'illuminent quand le doigt du poète y fait passer son phosphore; les mots des poètes conservent du sens même lorsqu'ils sont détachés des autres, et paraissent isolés comme de beaux sons; on dirait des paroles lumineuses, de l'or, des perles, des diamants et des fleurs'" (4).

Gautier also loved words which were "rich, brilliant and rare," perhaps less for their intrinsic beauty than for their evocative quality. It was not that he did not feel their isolated value—his praise of Hugo and Banville indicates his interest in words as such—but the unusualness of words and the sonority of phrases were not his only preoccupation. The suitability of a word to an unusual setting, a fullness of meaning in a phrase, its possible evocation of rich and brilliant imagery in himself and in his reader—these qualities he required. His use of rare words illustrates this point. His vocabulary is abundant and includes many words fallen into comparative disuse, as well as more modern but unusual and technical expressions. On the other hand, his neologisms are few, and it would appear that he did not consider it necessary, or even advisable, to invent—the language at his command in the past and present should suffice for the expression of any thought—for his object was not the unusual as such; the striking, the arresting, without expressive value, concerned him little. Old and almost obsolete words naturally did not come under the same ban, as they were already in the spirit of the language, and capable of evoking an especial response in the reader as in the writer; their use was rather encouraged. Gautier wrote of far-away times, and in his tales he did not hesitate to employ the vocabulary of each period. In the *Capitaine Fracasse*, for example, various critics have noted the abundance of words, no longer in current use, which belonged to the era into which the author was transporting his readers (5). *Elias Wildmanstadius*, of thirty years before, shows a similar method, and while this tale entered into the romantic tradition for the Gothic encouraged by Gautier's leader, Pétrus Borel, the disciple did not go back into the past for his words solely on account

of their intrinsic merit, but rather for the purpose of picturing this past more exactly through their very atmosphere. It is this same search for precision of evocation which appears to be at the basis of Gautier's use of contemporary technical vocabulary, which his critics have blamed as not literary but which he supported through many years as a necessity for the proper rendering of many fields of interest in literature. "Proper rendering," of course, includes two questions: that of the object to be rendered (and here Gautier's use of words must be considered in his technical writing as such, in the descriptions of Salons, etc.), and that of the stylistic quality sought. Nevertheless, the general object of his use of technical words is not in doubt.

It is made more plain, indeed, by the analogous employment of other contemporary phraseology, where the author's intention is obviously the evocation of certain desired qualities in the minds of his readers. Even the titles of his books, for example, may aid in producing a favourable atmosphere for their reception in the manner desired by the author. So Claretie, in his preface to *Jean et Jeannette*, notes that

"Jeannette . . . , au moment de choisir son nom, se rappela peut-être qu'en ce même mois de juillet 1850, les Variétés avaient donné avec succès les *Métamorphoses de Jeannette*, dont Th. Gautier fit un brillant feuilleton" (6).

In the same way, there is a correspondence between the title of Gautier's collection of poems, the *Emaux et Camées* of 1851, and the next to last chapter of the *Galerie de poètes vivans*, of Desplaces, which is entitled "Médaillons et Camées." It is to be noted that this series was published in 1847, after appearing in the *Artiste* and in the *Revue de Paris* as separate articles, and that it was undoubtedly known to Gautier, whose portrait was included among these *Camées*. Here again the public was already prepared in spirit for the new publication. Another type of influence on choice of words and phraseology by attention to their general reception is seen in certain manuscript changes in the *Voyage en Espagne*, for example, where Gautier the journalist appears to take thought for the interests of those who read his *feuilletons* and tries to amend his work for their benefit. So,

in the description of the *Généralife*, he adds a sentence to his manuscript which has no value other than that of completing the information offered as a guide to Spain, when, after the "brosse du badigeonneur," he inserts:

"Dans une salle assez bien conservée, on remarque une suite de portraits enfumés des rois d'Espagne, qui n'ont qu'un mérite chronologique" (7).

A little later, when the traveller reaches Córdoba, a comparison of his manuscript and the printed version again makes apparent his search for the evocative, for that which shall be of use in reaching his newspaper public. It is evidently the journalist who chooses as comprehensible and at the same time significant the following addition:

" . . . Les versets du Coran . . . forment un ensemble d'une richesse, d'une beauté, d'une élégance féerique, dont l'équivalent ne se rencontre que dans les Mille et une Nuits, et qui n'a rien à envier à aucun art . . ." (8).

Gautier the *feuilletoniste*, who writes for a host of daily readers, is again at the basis of such a change in phraseology as that found in his description of the launching of a ship:

"A le voir filer ainsi on craignait qu'il ne s'allât briser contre le quai opposé. Il s'arrêta juste à point avec une grâce incomparable, et cette évolution fut saluée par un formidable hurrah de la foule (à cause de sa beauté) qui a toujours le sentiment du beau" (9).

The journalistic preoccupation was, however, relatively slight in Théophile Gautier, while the rendering of plastic or pictorial beauty, of the visible and lovely in general, occupied him throughout his life. It is in this field, then, that his choice of words and images will be particularly interesting. With what method did he try to reproduce the visible, with what proportion did the direct observation and the pictorial source enter into his choice of phraseology, what comparisons from the world of sight did he use for evocative ends? Here the evidence of the manuscript, with its additions, its eliminations, its varying emphases, must be considered in connection with the finished work, in a study of the use of words and phrases of colour, of light, of form—relief and outline—and of plastic and pictorial technique, on the part of the painter-poet. It has been already noted, in connection with

the desired "atmosphere" of his work—and again, in connection with economy of effort, the point will be emphasized—that Gautier in his choice of material for literary work, and in his rendering of it, was guided by various factors to attempt the plastic. It was in accord with his ideal of art, on the one hand, and on the other, it aided him in keeping within the bounds set by a conventional society; moreover, the representation of the plastic was easier for him, in accordance with his own confession, than a reconstruction of the thought of far-distant times, than any imagining of the non-self. *Le Roi Candaule*, it will be recalled, contains a passage where the difficulty of entering into the ideas of the ancients is discussed with feeling (10), and the author expresses similar judgments in *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* and in the *Roman de la Momie*. According to one of his contemporaries, the relative ease of plastic representation came from an especial gift of Gautier's:

"Il est certain que chez Théophile Gautier la descriptivité joue le rôle d'une faculté maîtresse, parce qu'elle est un don extraordinaire; tout ce qui est extérieur vient se placer avec tant d'amour sous la plume de l'écrivain, qu'il sert avec sensualité ce fruit doré qui lui est tombé dans la main. Il voit les choses en peintre et non pas en géomètre; pour lui il n'existe pas que des grandes lignes, ces routes royales du récit; l'humble sentier l'intéresse autant que la voie de première classe. . . . Il saisit l'élément visible ou palpable avec un tel bonheur que la nature n'a pas un secret pour cette merveilleuse optique" (11).

The author himself admits that he did not have to await the actual stimulus of observation in order to occupy himself with the visible, whether in description or in metaphor:

"Bien que j'aie fait dans ma vie autant de descriptions que tout autre littérateur, et que j'aie farci mes vers d'une quantité assez raisonnable de comparaisons océaniques, je dois avouer, avec une humilité qui me vaudra sans doute mon pardon, que je n'avais ni vu ni entrevu la mer, il y a de cela six mois tout au plus . . ." (12).

On the other hand, every small visible detail is of interest to him, even to the matter of spelling:

". . . Mais, à propos de Syrènes, que M. Scribe et l'Académie nous pardonnent de restituer à ce mot son Y, qui lui sied bien;—nous aimons l'orthographe figurative . . ." (13).

Even in Gautier's earliest writing, a preoccupation with colour is noticeable, and, as a matter of fact, the essay on Hoffmann which Sp. de Lovenjoul cites as the first piece of his prose now surviving displays this interest in 1830:

"Aussi, aucun des livres que j'ai lus ne m'a impressionné de tant de manières diverses. . . . Son style est un prisme magique et changeant où se réfléchit la création en tous sens, un arc-en-ciel, un reflet de toutes les couleurs de l'iris, une queue de paon où le soleil a réuni tous ses rayons!" (14).

In 1837 the young journalist writes a descriptive passage based on colour notation; it is difficult to decide whether he does this seriously, or whether he is giving a satiric rendering, an exaggeration, of his normal process, but, in either case, its reflection of his interest is undoubted:

"Au bout de cela, il y avait une espèce de canal, puis de grands tas de pierres bleues en talus des deux côtés, et des rangées de pieux comme à l'île Louviers; . . . Par delà les pierres bleues et les pieux verts s'étendaient à perte de vue de larges bandes de sables jaunâtres et de vases de couleur cendrée. Il y avait aussi beaucoup de petites charettes vert pomme avec des roues d'un rouge criard, chargés de tentes peintes en couil . . ." (15).

The preoccupation was a lasting one, and in its span the author became ever more skilled in the management of his terms and in their selection. So in the "Nostalgies d'Obélisques" of *Emaux et Camées*, there are to be found the following words descriptive of colour or its tone: *rouillé, rougie, pâleurs, de feu, bleu, roses, azur, vermeil, rose, blanc, or, noir, blanche, or nacré, dorés, peints*—seventeen words, in the first eighteen stanzas, while in the second group there are ten, in addition to four words qualifying light: *jauni, azur, plomb, mât, noire, blancs, blanche, irisées, vermeil, roses*. The "Cæreuli oculi" of the same collection does not compare in number of colour terms, but offers shading, enumeration of tints, which is interesting for the author's perception and reproduction of colour: *azur amer, teintes glauques, azur indéfini, eau bleue et profonde, transparence verdâtre, blancheur bleue, émail vert du flot dormant, couche de nacre, regard céruléen*. The poet and critic was always on the alert to note colour in nature and in works of art. So, to his mind, one of Eugene Delacroix's principal merits was his colour:

"Eugène Delacroix a exposé quatre petites toiles, deux d'entre elles . . . sont un bijou de couleur; le coloris en est admirable, et le ton de la femme dans l'ombre est d'une vérité et d'une finesse exquis, transparent sans faire jaspe, solide sans être noir" (16).

To this expression of opinion by the young critic, in perhaps his first *compte-rendu* of a collection of pictures, may be compared the statements of some forty years later, when, in his *Notice* for an exposition of Henri Regnault's paintings to take place after the latter's death in the war of 1870, Gautier, in his own last years, wrote:

"Une ceinture violette à larges plis se noue autour des reins, formant l'accord complémentaire avec le jaune paille de la tunique, comme le noir des cheveux le formait avec le jaune bouton-d'or de la draperie servant de fond. . . ."

". . . Ces pieds, délicieusement dessinés et d'une naïveté de pose charmante, portent sur une peau de tigre, continuant l'accord contrasté d'orange et de noir, et recouvrant à demi un tapis turc bariolé de jaune et de bleu, de vert et d'orange pour maintenir la gamme. . . ."

". . . Mais il faut rattacher cette valeur verte à la valeur rosée du tableau, et une ceinture rose s'enroule autour du cadavre" (17).

The type of colour observed had, moreover, a certain affective value for the author. One may cite, for example, the effect which English bricks had on him; Gautier considered that the yellowish ochre of this material was a false colour, not to be compared with the warm reds of the French variety, and he found that houses constructed with such bricks had "une physionomie malade et malsaine désagréable à l'œil" (18). In another instance, colour affected him so that he could easily become sad at the thought of the fate of poor Anne Boleyn, "que j'ai toujours beaucoup aimée à cause du joli réseau de veines bleues qui s'entrelacent sous la blonde transparence de ses tempes, dans le délicieux portrait caressé avec tant de patience et d'amour par le précieux Hans Holbein" (19). Just so the traveller ascribes to the colours which surround them certain traits of character seen in foreign peoples, and he remarks in particular the uniform black of London, which lacks entirely the vigorous brownish tints seen in old buildings in Southern countries:

"Je n'ai vu nulle part cette teinte opaque et morne qui prête aux édifices, demi-voilés par la brume, l'apparence de grands catafalques, et suffirait pour expliquer le spleen traditionnel des Anglais. En regardant ces murailles teintées

" par la suie de charbon, je songeais à l'Alcazar et à la cathédrale de Tolède, que le soleil a revêtus d'une robe de pourpre et de safran " (20).

The observation of colour on which these judgments were based was a close one, and Théophile Gautier shows, in the written reproduction of its various effects, the keenness of his perceptions in this respect. He wonders why painters have so rarely represented the night in their work, for there is there something entirely new to render, and night is not so black as it seems.

" Outre la lune, espèce de soleil blanc, vous avez les rayons des étoiles, mille vagues reflets du jour disparu ou qui va renaître, je ne sais quelle phosphorescence des objets. Un grand coloriste qui étudierait la nuit *con amore* y trouverait des gammes de nuances d'une harmonie et même d'une variété surprenantes, des effets vraiment merveilleux et neufs . . . " (21).

Again, he notes, the colour of the ale in a picture which he admires; " la topaze n'est ni plus blonde ni plus chaude " (22). In nature, also, there are to be found especially admirable effects:

" Le ciel était d'un bleu laiteux presque blanc, rappelant certains reflets d'opale; un soleil argenté souriait dans des vapeurs d'un rose transparent, qui rendaient la lumière visible en la réfractant " (23).

The *feuilletonniste* himself can be a colourist, even when the subject which he has to render is one which of its nature offends all senses but his vision. So, in his *Voyage hors Barrières*, at the slaughter-house of Montfaucon, he finds something of astonishing beauty:

" Un ouvrier . . . écorchait un cheval; la peau était déjà presque à moitié détachée, et la chair luisait au soleil sous sa moiteur sanglante. On ne peut rien imaginer de plus splendide en fait de couleur: c'étaient des tons nacrés, roses, laqueux, violets, bleu de ciel, vert-pomme, argentés comme le plus beau et le plus riche coquillage exotique. Un coq lustré, vernissé, de la plus triomphante mine, se tenait debout sur la carcasse . . . " (24).

The evidence of the finished work is only amplified by a study of Gautier's manuscripts, for from them also it is evident that the observation of colours occupied him, that they had meaning for him after observation, and that he took pains to note for others, with exactitude and with subtlety, these effects which had pleased him personally. Already, in the study of the *cahier de voyage* of the first visit to Spain, a use of colour-notation has been remarked, and the same procedure is found in the few manuscript

notes preserved for *Italia*, where, for example, in an enumeration of buildings in their different locations, their various tints are set down, and where, even in the little drawings which accompany the notes on Venice, there are pencilled indications of the colour of the various edifices outlined (25). The same process—perpetuation of the colour perceived as particularly characteristic and important—is seen in the notes which Gautier took for the “Exposition universelle de Londres.” The method of indication may be fairly general and dependent for precision upon the memory of the critic, as in the case of number 135, “Femme portant sur son épaule un enfant nu à physionomie de Léonard de Vinci—coloris italien—une rose dans les cheveux de la femme—coloris superbe,” or it may, on the contrary, be specific, as for example, in the description of Etty’s *Judith and Holofernes*:

“353 . . . L’assyrien endormi comme un veau. Judith debout levant l’épée au ciel avant de frapper—mouvement d’une élégance héroïque—tunique blanche robe rouge—pan de tente relevé laissant voir le bleu de la nuit piqué d’une étoile” (26).

In the manuscripts themselves the indications as to colour are negative in the main, and their chief interest lies in the fact that eliminations of words of colour, or of colourful metaphors, are almost wholly absent. The original version is definitive in this matter. So, too, for the additions, there is little change to be noted; a few of the manuscripts contain changes which introduce more definiteness in the verbal imagery used, as for example, when a “ciel obscur” becomes a “ciel laiteux” between the first editions of “Le Sentier” (27), or when a metaphor is expanded:

“. . . Sa veste de chamois miroitée et noircie par endroits au frottement de la cuirasse, ce qui produisait sur le fond jaune de la peau des teintes (verdâtres sur le fond jaune de la peau) comme celles qui verdoient au ventre d’un perdrix faisandé . . .” (28).

Gautier’s observation of colours was good, his memory of them exact, and in his first draft he has, apparently, been able to include in his literary rendering the many words of colour which are present in his finished work.

Colour, then, is a preoccupation of Théophile Gautier in perception and also in his literary rendition of the visible. He is an

adept in its use, in choice of words and imagery, and while his management of this vocabulary becomes even more skilled with his continual exercise in writing, and while the vocabulary itself becomes ever more extended, in any individual work the author seems from the start to be in command of his powers of colour-expression. He has, moreover, very definite affective, as well as ideational, associations with specific shades, and while there is little evidence in his work of a true scale of colours, with correspondences in sound or perfume, etc., it is noticeable that certain colours are linked, for him, to certain types of experience, and the development of a theme through its colour-atmosphere becomes natural to him. Mlle. Chaix, in her study of *La Correspondance des arts*. . . ., comes to the conclusion that in cases of colour-association such as Sainte-Beuve's "Rayons jaunes"—and still more in Gautier's "Symphonie en blanc majeur," which to her is an exaggeration of Sainte-Beuve's process—there is a purely artificial work which is added to only a small proportion of the natural activity of the mind (where "l'image évolue dans le sens de son contenu affectif et, dans le sens de l'état émotionnel de l'auteur, elle suscite d'autres images de la même tonalité psychique, du même ordre d'idées") (29). It is quite true that in the case of Gautier's poem there was a volitional element of great importance, the poet was attempting a *tour de force* in technique, and was not only following out his natural richness of colour-association. This seems undoubted in view of his statement in regard to the development of such a theme:

"Un poète de nos amis fit autrefois une pièce de vers intitulée *Symphonie en blanc majeur*, où chaque strophe ramenait obligatoirement une idée, une comparaison ou une image blanche. On dirait que M. Regnault en composant son tableau de Salomé, a eu une intention de ce genre. La seule différence, c'est qu'il a adopté pour dominante la note jaune. Une draperie de satin bouton d'or de l'éclat le plus vif remplit le fond de la toile. Voilà le thème posé; il s'agit de le développer et de le varier sans manquer à l'harmonie, et jamais coloriste ne s'en est choisi un plus difficile. . . .

" . . . M. Regnault a vêtu d'un dolman et d'un pantalon à la turque vert le corps de son supplicé, faisant jouer à la manière orientale les nuances de la même couleur.

" . . . Il est difficile de construire avec un artifice plus savant une symphonie de couleurs. Aussi l'œil éprouve-t-il une satisfaction complète devant ce tableau, dont l'éclat éblouissant ne détruit pas l'harmonie . . ." (30).

Here the phraseology,—the use of the words *obligatoirement*, *artifice plus savant*, *intention*,—expresses plainly the volitional side of such composition, on which Mlle. Chaix has insisted, but the author points out, also, that it is the work of a colourist to accomplish such a symphony, and, moreover, that the result of it is a complete satisfaction for the eye. The requirements of the artist, and the object of his work, are thus set forth, and his general attitude in regard to the development of the theme seems, therefore, not to be wholly that of the literary technician. In Gautier's case the "Symphonie en blanc majeur" is not the only manifestation, moreover, of his observation and reproduction of whiteness. There are two later instances of this preoccupation, in the *Voyage en Russie*, and in the chapter entitled "Effet de neige" of the *Capitaine Fracasse*, and it does not appear that these were mere repetitions of an effective bit of writing which had pleased its author on account of its evidence of technical skill, and the public on account of its unusual quality. As a matter of fact, whiteness was observed and meditated upon many years before the appearance of the "Symphonie," and a passage from Gautier's article on Heine's *Reisebilder*, of 1837, indicates it as an especially vivid impression of the poet and critic, a visual notation which endures and which helps to determine, through its affective value, his later original work:

"Ce qui m'a surtout frappé, dans cette portion du livre, . . . c'est une réverbération blanche, une espèce d'éclat neigeux dont l'effet est singulier: on croit voir filtrer, à travers ces phrases coulées en argent fin ou taillées dans le marbre de Carrare le plus pur et le plus laiteux, l'eau claire et crue qui descend des glaciers . . ." (31).

So also his tale of 1840, *Le Chevalier double*, brings a recurrence of the same theme. Here the "blonde Edwige" is in contrast to the Chevalier, who, himself, is an instance of Gautier's voluntary association of colours with specific traits of character. Here also the winter whiteness of the birch forest becomes an occasion for the author's descriptive powers, turned upon a subject which is of intrinsic interest to him. Gautier's development of the colour-theme denotes his visual and literary preoccupation from the affective, as well as from the volitional, point of view,

and the use of colour in his work seems to be indicative of a part of his nature as an artist.

In addition to colour as a means of rendering the visible, the poet had at his command the possibility of using effects of light or shade for the same purpose, and it is a question, in regard to his perception and its transformation into literature, as to just what part light played in his individual make-up. Colour as such was interesting to him, and he could render it subtly in his work; light, as a visible effect, is also found there, but without the variety of reproduction to be noted for colour and without, apparently, the value in meaning which the latter held for him. Perhaps the relation between light and colour for Gautier can be distinguished from the description which he himself gives, in *Spirite*, of a patch of light:

"La tache lumineuse du miroir commençait à se dessiner d'une façon plus distincte et à se teindre de couleurs légères, immatérielles pour ainsi dire, et qui auraient fait paraître terreux les tons de la plus fraîche palette. C'était plutôt l'idée d'une couleur que la couleur elle-même, une vapeur traversée de lumière et si délicatement nuancée que tous les mots humains ne sauraient la rendre" (32).

Gautier expresses here the difficulty of reproduction which, even in his years of maturity, after he had acquired consummate skill in presenting colour in words, still troubled him in the literary rendering of light. In the "*Symphonie en blanc majeur*," he had done all that was possible for the verbal reproduction of white as a colour, and had felt himself successful in this task. White as a luminous quality still eluded him, however:

"Au débouché de la vallée de Maglans, nous éprouvâmes un éblouissement d'admiration: le mont Blanc se découvrit soudain à nos regards, si splendide-ment magnifique, si en dehors des formes et des couleurs terrestres, qu'il nous sembla qu'on ouvrait devant nous à deux battants les portes du rêve. On eût dit un énorme fragment de la lune tombé là du haut ciel. L'éclat de la neige étincelante que frappait le soleil eût rendu noires toutes les comparaisons de la *Symphonie en blanc majeur*. C'était le blanc idéal, le blanc absolu, le blanc de lumière qui illumina le Christ sur le Thabor. Des nuages superbes, du même ton que la neige et qu'on n'en distinguait qu'à leur ombre, montaient et descendaient le long de la montagne. . . . Ce mélange de nuages et de neige, ce chaos d'argent, ces vagues de lumière se brisant en écume de blancheur, ces phosphorescences diamantées voudraient, pour être exprimées, des mots qui manquent à la langue humaine et que trouverait le rêveur de l'Apocalypse dans l'extase de la vision; jamais plus radieux spectacle ne se déploya à nos yeux

"surpris, et nous eûmes à ce moment la sensation complète du beau, du grand, du sublime" (33).

Gautier tried once more to describe the beauty of snow, and here again the quality of light seemed impossible to transpose, and he indicated it by metaphor, without trusting to word-equivalence.

"Quel admirable matière que ce Paros céleste qu'on nomme la neige! quelle blancheur immaculée! quelle finesse de grain, quel scintillement de micas et de paillettes d'argent! avec quelle douceur les pâles figures modelées dans ce duvet soyeux se détachent sur le fond d'ouate du brouillard et des arbres lointains semblables, au bas du ciel gris, à de légères fumées rousses!" (34).

There is here an appeal in words to the various senses; the luminosity of snow alone would not suffice to call up in the mind of the reader, by the power of possible verbal rendering, the impression which this quality had made, in its perception, upon the writer. As a matter of fact, this type of general description, in which the luminous as such shall have a small, direct part, but the whole object of which shall be the emphasizing and the calling-forth of the luminous impression by means of its concomitants, is quite usual in the work of Gautier. Thus, in his "Effet de Nuit," of the *Tableaux de Siège*, the auditory as well as the visual effect is intended, while in the visual rendering there is included not only the real effect of light which the poet had seen, but also the effect of form and colour which go to aid in the reproduction of the nocturnal impression:

"Silence de mort, solitude effrayante le long du quai. On se croirait dans une ville du moyen âge, à l'heure où le couvre-feu sonne. A peine si l'on entend dans le lointain le roulement d'une voiture ou le pas d'un bourgeois revenant chez lui. Les maisons s'élèvent hautes et sombres, découpant leurs combles sur la nuit comme du velours noir sur du drap noir. Trois fenêtres seulement sont éclairées du coin du quai Voltaire au dôme de l'Institut. Près du kiosque de l'inspecteur de place tremblote la lanterne d'un dernier fiacre. Les lampadaires à demi baissés piquent l'ombre de rares points rouges dont le reflet s'allonge et se dissout dans le fleuve comme une larme de sang. Mais tout à coup un caprice du vent écarte les nuages, et il s'allume autant d'étoiles au ciel qu'il s'éteint de becs de gaz sur terre. L'illumination est au grand complet là-haut!" (35).

It was during these same weeks of war in Paris, when the city was deserted and when the poet, no longer impassible, wandered solitary through its streets, that he attempted to render in words an effect of light, "Clair de lune au Bastion," with the express

intent of giving its luminous impression, and with a reproduction including not only some traits of the light itself but also its accompaniment of form and colour :

"Hier il faisait le plus admirable clair de lune du monde, un clair de lune comme on en voit peu dans nos contrées du septentrion. Ce n'était pas le jour et ce n'était pas la nuit. Que sa lumière soit plus ou moins intense, le clair de lune a pour propriété de décomposer les couleurs et de revêtir les objets d'une teinte uniforme entre le gris bleuâtre et l'hortensia. Il ne modèle les formes que par des contrastes de noirs et de blancs, et il jette sur le tout sa poussière brillante comme le mica.

"Cette fois les planches des baraques et des cantines gardaient parfaitement leur nuance saumon clair; les ocre des talus ne se changeaient pas en craies. Ce qui était rouge restait rouge. La couleur du vêtement des sentinelles se promenant le chassepot au bras sur la banquette se reconnaissait sans peine; au fond, sur un ciel d'un bleu d'acier, la silhouette de Paris découpait les dômes du Val-de-Grâce et du Panthéon, avec un ton d'ombre d'un violet intense, et, au delà du rempart, la campagne saupoudrée de neige faisait l'effet d'un immense relief d'argent ou plutôt d'un morceau de lune vu au télescope" (36).

This type of mingling of colour and light impressions is seen, also, in some of the sunsets in Gautier's accounts of travel and imaginative works. In *Mademoiselle Dafné*, for example, he writes :

"A l'heure où nous commençons cette description, le soleil se couchait dans un ciel d'un bleu de turquoise striée d'étroits nuages violets et tournant au citron ou approchant des tons orangés qui environnaient l'astre à son déclin. Les pyramides des cypres s'élevaient en vigueur sur ce fond clair, et à travers leur feuillage obscur scintillaient, çà et là, des points de feu d'où partaient des rayons, tandis que tout le bas baignait dans une ombre bleue et froide" (37).

In spite of the difficulty of reproduction in words, of effects of light, Gautier does not hesitate to attempt this verbal rendering from time to time, and it is noticeable that the sudden luminous effects, such as those of fireworks, made a particularly vivid impression on him, and that he introduces them frequently into his writings. So, in regard to fireworks themselves, he speaks of a celebration at Marseilles where the bombs and rockets were set off during the day, without fear of the sun, in order to "se détacher sur la plus pure lumière comme des diamants sur un fond d'or!" (38). He enjoys watching the motion of the small boats at the entrance to the port. "C'est un va-et-vient d'étincelles blanches d'un effet charmant; on dirait des plumes de cygne promenées par la brise" (39). The traveller studies the coast in its relation to the sea as he approaches the land, and finds it

hard to distinguish one from the other, as they have exactly the same tints and the same play of light and shade. When he arrives at Algiers, however, he finds the tropical light particularly characteristic of the sight before him:

“Une tache blanchâtre coupée en trapèze commence à se dessiner sur le fond sombre des côteaux, pailletés çà et là d'étincelles d'argent dont chacune est une maison de campagne: c'est Alger. . . . On approche; autour du trapèze, deux ravins aux tons d'ocre entaillent le flanc de la colline, et ruissellent d'une lumière si vive, qu'on dirait qu'ils servent de lit à deux torrents de soleil; ce sont les fossées . . .” (40).

Effects of light, then, are rendered by Gautier in conjunction with other visual perceptions; they are also reproduced by the poet as metaphoric material, or indicated, in their own description, by a metaphor not necessarily luminous. A comparison which he ascribes to Arab poetics goes further, in the presentation of light in both object and metaphor, than the French writer himself in his usual renderings:

“Cette illumination à ras de terre faisait un effet singulier et donnait aux feuillages, éclairés en dessous, un air de décoration de théâtre. . . .
“A voir cette multitude de points lumineux, un poète arabe eût dit que les étoiles du ciel étaient descendues pour boire la rosée dans l'herbe ou qu'une péri avait secoué là les paillettes d'or de son voile . . .” (41).

However difficult, then, the reproduction of light for Théophile Gautier, he did not neglect it in his literary composition. He has not, perhaps, the complete preoccupation with optical effects which he finds among the Algerian shopkeepers:

“Presque toujours, un globe rempli d'une eau limpide où jouent quelques hôtes à nageoires, fait luire sur la devanture la paillette de son ventre; ils se plaisent à suivre les grossissements, les effets du lumière et les jeux d'optique que produisent les allées et venues des poissons.—Les arcs-en-ciel de pourpre, d'argent et d'or qui ondoient dans la transparence du cristal, les tiennent attentifs des heures entières” (42).

Apparently, however, aquaria did not lack all interest for the writer himself, for a bowl of goldfish appeared in *Fortunio*, and the Algerian custom is described with a certain amount of feeling. Sudden changings of light fascinate him; it is this which he sees in the sparks of the fireworks, and again in the spangles of water or of metal which he may observe in his travels:

"Rien n'était plus joli que de voir scintiller sous le rayon, dans cet angle lumineux, les paillettes et les broderies des costumes. Les couleurs tendres des capes prenaient des nuances charmantes:—quel dommage qu'il n'y eût pas là un Goya avec sa palette!" (43).

Murillo also owes to his handling of light effects some of the praise which the critic bestows upon him:

" . . . Le saint drapé dans son froc, l'autel et tous ces accessoires sont peints avec une fidélité naïve, un accent de nature qui fait ressortir admirablement la partie supérieure du tableau, illuminée d'un jour surnaturel, baignée d'effluves rayonnants et nageant dans cette lumière argentée que Murillo fait jaillir sans effort de sa palette harmonieuse" (44).

Gautier, indeed, writes fairly frequently of the handling of light by the painters whom he criticizes in his *Salons*, and he has ascribed to certain ones particular effects of light and shade which he uses later for comparative purposes, in the building up of metaphors, etc., but here, again, light as such does not appear to be, to him, of nearly so great importance as colour. The palettes of Murillo and Goya are indeed distinguished by luminosity, but that is not their only interest.

The secondary nature of light as opposed to colour, and its dependence for literary rendering on the latter or on other concomitant sensations, are illustrated also by certain portions of Gautier's manuscripts. Light, even that which sparkles and which was found to have the greatest charm for the author, is not necessarily included in the first thought of the writer who would render the characteristic traits of what he sees; so, in a description of Ocana, the addition of a phrase introducing light is made on the manuscript, and then it takes the place of a more or less conceptual trait:

" . . . Les têtes basanées, (*les costumes bizarres*) *les yeux étincelants*, les figures de madonne, les costumes pleins de caractère . . ." (45).

Again the author remarks, in his notes on the "Exposition universelle," two pictures in which light seemed to him important, one in which there is an "effet de soleil à la Claude Lorrain," and another where details of light seem to him as remarkable as the colouring:

"307—Lauder—Christ marchant sur l'eau—genre Scheffer—Pose tranquille robe rouge manteau bleu, rayon tombant d'en haut—ciel, profondément lumineux—lueur d'orage au bord de la mer" (46).

In these notes, on the other hand, the indications of colour are frequent, and their importance in the construction of the finished works of criticism is undoubted. Perhaps the most striking manifestation of the secondary nature of light effects in Gautier's literary work, however, is to be found in *Spirite*. It will be recalled that in the twelfth chapter of this story of the return of a ghost who still loved on earth there is inserted a description of the paradise to which Spirite had ascended, and where after death a new life had been found, with an enlargement of horizons, a dazzling splendour, explosions of new senses, etc. After the general indication of the nature of this heaven there are two paragraphs which deal in detail with its light:

"Une lumière fourmillante, brillant comme une poussière diamantée, formait l'atmosphère; chaque grain de cette poussière étincelante, comme je m'en aperçus bien, était une âme . . ."

This light differed from material light as the day differs from night. The souls so represented were diverse also, but in spite of the infinite variety of their types, they all were made in the image of their creator.

"Ces âmes étaient blanches comme le diamant, les autres colorées comme le rubis, l'émeraude, le saphir, la topaze et l'améthyste. Faute d'autres termes que vous puissiez comprendre, j'emploie ces noms de pierreries, vils cailloux, cristaux opaques, aussi noirs que l'encre, et dont les plus brillants ne seraient que des taches sur ce fond de splendeurs vivantes" (47).

The two paragraphs which contain this description of light (and it will be noted that it is again in terms of colour) are not in the original draft of the manuscript of *Spirite*, but have been added thereto in Gautier's hand. The case is the same for the three paragraphs at the end of the same chapter (those beginning "Pendant qu'il était ainsi accoudé . . .", "Dans le tremblement lumineux . . .", and "Un nuage passa sur le soleil . . ."), for these three paragraphs, again, deal with light effects and seem not to have entered into the original thought of the author. Gautier, then, while paying attention to light in some forms, seems not to have noted it in the same way as he did colour, but to have taken in it an interest which is less independent, so that in rendition it appears as an adjunct of colour rather than as an autonomous

impression. He did not find it easy to write of, even when it seemed important enough to be included in his descriptions, and the paragraphs which he composes to give certain effects of illumination do this indirectly, with small indication of the light sensations themselves, and with many notations of the accompaniment of forms and colours which distinguished the experience. It is on the sea especially that Gautier makes use of pure light in his descriptions, and this, indeed, is natural when it is considered that distinctive forms and colours are almost wholly lacking there. Even in this case, descriptions such as the following are rare in the works of the colourist, and for the understanding of this particular paragraph, where Gautier succeeds in observing and in reproducing light to an unusual extent, it must be recalled that the experience at its base was a part of the longest sea-voyage he had yet undertaken, the trip to Constantinople, and that never before had the poet had so little to observe in any given time :

“ Le soleil avait disparu derrière nous, mais il ne faisant pas nuit pour cela ; la voie lactée rayait le ciel de sa large zone d'opale, et il fallait qu'Hercule eût mordu bien fort le sein de Junon, car d'innombrables taches blanches constellaient l'azur nocturne ; les étoiles brillaient d'un éclat inconcevable, et leur reflet scintillait dans l'eau en longues traînées de feu ; des millions de paillettes phosphorescentes pétillaient et s'évanouissaient comme des vers luisants dans le sillage du bateau à vapeur. Ce phénomène, fréquent dans les mers tièdes du Levant et les tropiques, est produit par des myriades d'infusoires microscopiques, et l'on ne saurait rien imaginer de plus magiquement pittoresque. Cette nuit me restera dans la mémoire comme une des plus splendides de ma vie. Nous voguions entre deux abîmes de lapis-lazuli, traversés de veines d'or et poudrés de diamants. La lune, absente ou tellement mince encore que le dos de sa faucille d'argent se distinguait à peine, laissait rayonner dans toute sa magnificence cette nuit or et bleu que ses teintes d'argent eussent rendue blafarde. Deux bateaux à vapeur venant en sens contraire de notre marche contribuaient, avec leurs fanaux rouges et verts, à l'illumination générale ” (48).

It has been noted that in the rendering of luminous effects Gautier made use of indications of form as well as colour. Form, naturally, differs with each specific art, and whereas it is a matter of written style in literature, it remains in the arts of painting and sculpture a question of design, of outline, flat masses, relief. In literature which aims at plastic reproduction, then, words representing these various types of form must be chosen, and presented to the reader in such manner as to awaken the impres-

sion received in the first instance by the observer and recorder. So, the relation of colour to form in general, and the distinction in types of form in so far as it is rendered, will offer information as to the creative imagination of the artist. To Théophile Gautier, colour rather than design was especially interesting, and yet colour in various forms was a part of the composition in the plastic arts. In writing of Töpffer's *Réflexions et menus Propos d'un peintre genevois*, he takes exception to some of the æsthetician's analyses, and asks that the due place of colour be given back to it:

"Le dessin, le relief, la couleur forment la trinité pittoresque. La couleur a une telle importance et se lie si fortement aux autres parties de l'art, qu'elle se fait sentir jusque dans les gravures, jusque dans les lavis. N'entendez-vous pas tous les jours un sculpteur dire devant une statue blanche partout: Comme les cheveux sont colorés! ou d'autres expressions équivalentes" (49).

For the critic, colour, though dependent to a certain extent upon form, has an independent expressive value, and it is this which interests him personally:

"Assurément la couleur a besoin du dessin, et l'on ne conçoit pas qu'elle existe sans lui. Les nuances pour s'étaler nécessitent une délimitation quelconque; même en atteignant les corps par les *milieux* et en évitant toute espèce de trait, on arrive malgré tout à un dessin caché qui n'est pas moins réel, mais de cette conséquence il ne résulte à nos yeux aucune infériorité pour la couleur. Le dessin, c'est la mélodie, la couleur, c'est l'harmonie; qu'on nous permette cette comparaison empruntée à un autre art. La mélodie peut bien subsister indépendamment de l'harmonie, cela est vrai, mais de quelles prodigieuses richesses de nuances, de quelle puissance d'effet ne serait-on pas privé en supprimant cette dernière! L'idée du beau se rend aussi bien par un choix de teintes que par un choix de lignes. Quand Paul Véronèse fait monter dans un ciel bleu de turquoise la blanche colonnade d'un portique, quand Rubens frappe d'une plaque rose une joue d'un gris argenté, le Vénitien et le Flamand ont exprimé tout aussi nettement leur idée d'élégance, de beauté et de splendeur, que Raphaël en caressant les contours de la Fornarina" (50).

Gautier, then, is not so much preoccupied with form as with colour, although he recognizes its necessity. It has, moreover, certain intrinsic interests: through form in general individuality is betokened, by its means permanence is achieved:

"Les idées ont des formes, les choses se passent dans des milieux, les individualités revêtent des costumes que l'archéologie bien entendue peut leur rendre. C'est là son rôle: l'histoire trace le trait avec son burin, l'archéologie remplit le contour avec son pinceau.—Comprise de cette manière, l'histoire, c'est le passé rendu présent" (51).

Just as that which has form contains an essential element of beauty and has, moreover, a characteristic permanence which is interesting, so the formless does not possess æsthetic merit and, indeed, fatigues and bores its observer. By Gautier, from his early years, the sea was classed as uninteresting. In 1837, when he first saw the ocean, he was not impressed by it, and felt that its actual sight had not helped him toward better verbal representation, that its romantic interest was greater than its visual aspect warranted. Again, in the voyages to Spain and Algeria, the sea is a minor portion of his experience only, and his descriptions of it are limited to a few general remarks and to analyses of personal reactions to the motion of the boats. When, in 1853, Gautier wrote of his trip to Greece, he tried to record a night on the bridge; the resulting paragraph indicates the reasons for his earlier attitude toward the ocean:

"De cette partie du voyage, je ne saurais dire grand'chose, quoique j'aie passé la nuit sur le pont. Mais il n'y avait pas de lune et je ne distinguais rien que quelques silhouettes confuses d'îles, quelques moutons blanchissant au loin sur la mer, quelques scintillements d'étoile se brisant dans l'écume d'une vague. Quoique aujourd'hui je ne trouve pas de mots pour décrire ce spectacle, il était vraiment très-beau, mais d'une beauté qui, faute de formes précises, échappe à toute description. Comment peindre la nuit sur l'immensité? . . .

"Mes yeux ouverts dans l'ombre finirent par se fermer, quelque effort que je fisse pour ne pas m'endormir . . ." (52).

It is a few years later that Gautier expresses decisively his feeling for the sea and the causes which lie at its base:

"Une traversée, lorsqu'on n'aperçoit aucune terre et qu'on flotte entre le ciel et l'eau dans ce cercle d'horizon qui, n'en déplaie aux poètes, ne donne pas l'idée de l'infini, ne présente pas beaucoup de sujets de description. Les vagues s'enflent, s'avancent et se brisent, formant de ces crêtes d'écume qu'on appelle *moutons*, avec une agitation stérile et une variété monotone qui finit par lasser le regard. L'ennui vous prend malgré vous, bien qu'on se batte les flancs pour admirer les jeux de la lumière, les levers et les couchers du soleil, et les traînées de paillettes que verse la lune sur le fourmillement perpétuel des flots. On se prend à désirer quelque chose de moins vaguement immense, de plus délimité, de plus précis, où la pensée puisse se poser, comme ces oiseaux de passage qui, lassés de leur vol, s'abattent un moment, pour reprendre haleine, sur les vergues du navire" (53).

Form, then, has its definite importance to Gautier, the observer and the writer; the next question is that of the variety which he

chooses most often to reproduce verbally. In an examination of his writings from this point of view, it is found that while he presents to his readers a certain number of strictly plastic effects: relief, indications of planes, etc., his usual observation, and his chief subject for verbal reproduction, is the flat mass, the outline and silhouette (with its possibility of contrast of colours or of light and darkness), and, to a more limited extent, line itself in its intrinsic interest. Gautier's verbal indication of visual planes is rarely more definite than the following:

" . . . Me retournant, je jetai un regard d'adieu à la France; c'était un spectacle vraiment magnifique: la chaîne des Pyrénées s'abaissait en ondulations harmonieuses vers la nappe bleue de la mer, coupée ça et là par quelques barres d'argent, et grâce à l'extrême limpidité de l'air, on apercevait loin, bien loin, une faible ligne couleur saumon pâle, qui s'avancait dans l'incom-mensurable azur et formait une vaste échancrure au flanc de la côte . . ." (54).

The indications of relief in the word-pictures of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* are even less extended, although a certain notation is arrived at in the "pots bleus du Japon aux ventres arrondis et aux cols effilés" (55); in this type of work the author seems to observe from the point of view of the sculptor only when the female form is in question, for:

" . . . Il y a certaines ondulations de contours, certaines finesses de lèvres, certaines coupes de paupières, certaines inclinations de tête, certains allongements d'ovales qui me ravissent au delà de toute expression et m'attachent pendant des heures entières " (56).

Even here, however, "je ne circonscris point la beauté dans telle ou telle sinuosité de lignes":

"L'air, le geste, la démarche, le souffle, la couleur, le son, le parfum, tout ce qui est la vie entre pour moi dans la composition de la beauté; tout ce qui embaume, chante ou rayonne y revient de droit.—J'aime les riches brocarts, les splendides étoffes avec leurs plis amples et puissants; j'aime les larges fleurs et les cassolettes, la transparence des eaux vives et l'éclat miroitant des belles armes, les chevaux de race et ces grands chiens blancs comme on en voit dans les tableaux de Paul Véronèse . . ." (57).

The designation of masses of colour, or of varying degrees of brightness, is linked to a certain extent with the question of relief, for it may be a means of indicating different visual planes. With Gautier, however, it seems for the most part to abandon this possible objective, and the masses which he presents are in gen-

eral flat and approach the outline or silhouette for their significance as forms. So, when the writer points out "quelques statues, quelques vases de marbre se détachant sur le fond de verdure avec leur blancheur de neige . . ." (58), there is no indication of depth, and when he describes Rosette in the following terms he gives less notation of relief than one might find in the flattest portrait:

" . . . Le coin de l'œil troussé assez haut vers la tempe, le nez mince et les narines fort ouvertes, la bouche humide et sensuelle, une petite raie à la lèvre inférieure, et un duvet presque imperceptible aux commissures . . ." (59).

It is the silhouette itself, however, which makes the greatest impression on Gautier and which he transcribes most frequently for his readers. When he enters Spain, it is not particularly the relief of the Pyrenees which he notes, but rather the line which they make against the sky: "la chaîne des Pyrénées se dessine plus nettement, et des montagnes aux belles lignes onduleuses varient l'aspect de l'horizon" (60). So, again, when he looks at the queen's palace in Madrid, he finds that "les immenses terrasses qui le soutiennent et les montagnes chargées de neige de la Guadarrama sur lesquelles il se découpe, rehaussent ce que sa silhouette pourrait avoir d'ennuyeux et de vulgaire" (61). At times there is a combination of silhouette and relief:

"Quelquefois j'ai d'autres songes,—ce sont de longues cavalcades de chevaux tout blancs, sans harnais et sans bride, montés par de beaux jeunes gens nus qui défilent sur une bande de couleur bleue foncée comme sur les frises du Parthénon, ou des théories de jeunes filles couronnées de bande avec des tuniques à plis droits et des sistres d'ivoire qui semblent tourner autour d'un vase immense.—Jamais ni brouillard ni vapeur, jamais rien d'incertain et de flottant. Mon ciel n'a pas de nuage, ou, s'il en a, ce sont des nuages solides et taillés au ciseau, faits avec les éclats de marbre tombés de la statue de Jupiter. Des montagnes aux arêtes vives et tranchées le dentellent brusquement par les bords, et le soleil accoudé sur une des plus hautes cimes ouvre tout grand son œil jaune de lion aux paupières dorées" (62).

For the most part, however, the silhouette exists independently of the general relief of the picture; it cannot be *incertain* and *flottant*, and by its very precision it has pleased and impressed the observer. Trévoux, for example, which he had expected to see appear in the form of a dictionary, has a silhouette "dentelée de trois tours en ruine: l'une ronde, l'autre carrée, la troisième

"octogone" (63). In African towns the traveller finds characteristic the "silhouettes bizarres et grimaçantes" which are cast on the walls along the narrow streets by the light of some wax candle, of some lamp, filtering out from a grilled window or from the open door of a tiny shop (64). The same effect of ghostly shadows is noticed in Spain:

"Il faisait presque nuit quand on lâcha le onzième et le douzième taureau; les objets avaient perdu leur couleur, et ce combat dans l'ombre prenait un caractère singulier et sinistre. On voyait vaguement onduler un dos monstrueux entouré de silhouettes noires . . ." (65).

The traveler is likewise interested in the outlines presented by a Dutch horizon:

"Parfois une ligne de saules, une rangée d'arbres derrière laquelle glisse une voile de barque, un village avec son clocher, rompent l'uniformité du plan. . . .

"D'autres fois, une chaussée traverse la prairie: dépassant le niveau des maisons voisines et dessinant au-dessus des toits une silhouette de bateau.

"Dans ce paysage tout horizontal, les moindres objets saillants prennent de l'importance et se détachent admirablement; le lointain consiste en une raie bleue sur laquelle le ciel se pose comme sur la mer, ce qui laisse aux devants toute leur valeur . . ." (66).

The silhouettes which Gautier offers to his readers are indeed innumerable, and seem undoubtedly to correspond to a certain type of observation in the artist.

This same remarking of the line, rather than of the relief of an object, is evidenced in the author's interest in arabesques. The line itself attracts his attention; so, when he arrived at the bridge of Tours, "une ligne blanche, pareille à la raie tracée sur un verre par l'angle d'un diamant, coupait la surface limpide de la Loire" (67). At the bridge of Cubzac he finds an even more interesting sight:

"Des espèces de tours en fonte fenestrée, pour les rendre plus légères, servent de chevalets aux fils de fer qui se croisent avec une symétrie de résistance habilement calculée; ces cables se dessinent dans le ciel avec une ténuité et une délicatesse de fil d'araignée, qui ajoutent encore au merveilleux de la construction" (68).

The harbour of Bordeaux offers a vision of the same nature:

"Le port est encombré de vaisseaux de toutes nations et de différents tonnages; dans la brume du crépuscule, on dirait une multitude de cathédrales à la dérive, car rien ne ressemble plus à une église qu'un vaisseau avec ses mâts élançés en flèches, et les découpures enchevêtrées de ses cordages" (69).

This tracing of lines is found in nature also, and during his trip to Russia Gautier delighted in the frost arabesques :

" Pendant que nous regardions, sur la vitre de la portière se dessinaient, par suite du contraste de l'air froid du dehors avec l'air du dedans, de légères arborisations couleur de vif-argent, qui bientôt croisent leurs rameaux, s'étalent en larges feuilles, forment une forêt magique et étalent si bien le carreau que la vue du paysage est totalement interceptée. Certes, rien n'est plus joli que ces ramages, ces arabesques et ces filigranes de glace si délicatement contournés par le doigt de l'Hiver. C'est une des poésies du Nord, et l'imagination peut y découvrir des mirages hyperboréens " (70).

Plants of unusual form interest him in the same way :

" Quoique j'aie la prétension de n'être point un âne, j'aime beaucoup les chardons (goût qui, du reste, m'est commun avec les papillons), et ceux-ci me surprennent ; c'est une plante superbe et dont on peut tirer de charmants motifs d'ornementation. L'architecture gothique n'a pas d'arabesques ni de rinceaux plus nettement découpés et d'une ciselure plus fine " (71).

The arabesque is pleasing even when it is formed by the fine verses of the poets or by the maxims of the philosophers, and Gautier loves the " cartouches contenant des strophes ou des sentences d'auteurs illustres écrites par des calligraphes en caractères ornés " (72). It is for this reason that he admires the ornamentation of the Hall of Ambassadors at the Alhambra :

" C'est comme une espèce de tapisserie exécutée dans la muraille même. Un élément particulier la distingue : c'est l'emploi de l'écriture comme motif de décoration ; il est vrai que l'écriture arabe avec ses formes contournées et mystérieuses se prête merveilleusement à cet usage. Les inscriptions . . . se déroulent le long des frises, sur les jambes des portes, autour de l'arc des fenêtres, entremêlées de fleurs, de rinceaux, de lacs et de toutes les richesses de la calligraphie arabe " (73).

In describing the choir stalls of the cathedral of Burgos the writer makes plain the charm which such arabesques hold for him : perpetual invention in idea and in form :

" Les parties planes sont formée d'incrustations relevées de hachures noires comme les nielles sur métaux ; l'arabesque et le caprice n'ont jamais été plus loin. C'est une verve inépuisable, une abondance inouïe, une invention perpétuelle dans l'idée et dans la forme ; c'est un monde nouveau, une création à part aussi complète, aussi riche que celle de Dieu, . . . Un enlacement inextricable de fleurons, de rinceaux, d'acanthes, de lotus, de fleurs aux calices ornés d'aigrettes et de vrilles, de feuillages dentelés et contournés, d'oiseaux fabuleux, de poissons impossibles, de sirènes et de dragons extravagants, dont aucune langue ne peut donner l'idée " (74).

Gautier does not appear to receive so much pleasure from the geometrical line as from the arabesque, but he does not neglect it entirely in his rendering of the visual. There are masses of triangles and squares which appear flatly against the sky in some of his descriptions of cities, and, in the word-picture which he draws of Syra, the geometrical outline plays an important part beside the indications of colour and silhouette:

"Vue de la rade, Syra ressemble beaucoup à Alger, en petit, bien entendu. Sur un fond de montagne du ton le plus chaud, terre de Sienne ou topaze brûlée, appliquez un triangle étincelant de blancheur dont la base plonge dans la mer et dont la pointe est occupée par une église, et vous aurez l'idée la plus exacte de cette ville, hier encore tas informe de masures, et que le passage des bateaux à vapeur rendra dans peu de temps la reine des Cyclades.—Des moulins à vent à huit ou neuf ailes variaient cette silhouette aiguë; au reste, pas un arbre, pas une pointe d'herbe verte, aussi loin que l'œil pouvait s'étendre. Une grande quantité de bâtiments de toute forme et de tout tonnage dessinaient en noir leurs agrès déliés sur les maisons blanches de la ville et se pressaient le long du bord; des canots allaient et venaient avec une animation joyeuse: l'eau, la terre, le ciel, tout ruisselait de lumière; la vie éclatait de toutes parts" (75).

A consideration of the manuscript changes confirms this study of the appearance of outline form in Gautier's finished work, for here also the silhouette has primary importance: the occasion which it offers for precision in observing and in reproducing justifies its frequent use in verbal representation of the visual, and indeed leads to its substitution for other expressions of less definite nature. In the *Voyage en Russie*, for example, it takes the place of a rather vague and general descriptive phrase:

" . . . On approchait de Moscou, dont on discernait déjà, de la plateforme du wagon, la couronne (*lointaine de tours et de clochers*) dentelée aux premières clartés du jour . . ." (76).

In another instance, when the author wishes to eliminate the word *forme* from one half of a sentence, that it may appear in the second half, it is the word *silhouette* which is substituted and introduced into the description as equivalent to *forme*:

" . . . Sa (*forme*) silhouette élançée, renflée légèrement au milieu, amenuee au bout, présente cette ligne heureuse que donne toujours la forme nécessaire . . ." (77).

This same change to *silhouette* from *forme* is to be met with in the manuscript of the first chapter of *Ce qu'on peut voir en six*

jours (78), while in another case "une bonne tournure seigneuriale" becomes "une bonne silhouette seigneuriale" (79), and in the passage cited above from the *Voyage en Algérie*, the "*silhouettes* bizarres et grimaçantes" were originally *ombres*. By the use of this word Gautier apparently feels that he reproduces most exactly the impression of general form which the visual had made on him and which he felt to be an integral part of the beautiful in nature or in art. The outline or silhouette, and the colour, in a scene or in a picture, claimed his attention, and it is by their representation in words that he attempts to create a transcription for the reader of what was most important, most significant of beauty as well as of character, in his original impression. So he writes, in leaving Toledo:

"Chacune de ces pierres a son histoire, et si nous voulions tout raconter, il nous faudrait un volume au lieu d'un article; mais ce qui ne sort pas de nos attributions de voyageur, c'est de redire encore une fois la noble figure que fait à l'horizon Tolède assise sur son trône de rocher, avec sa ceinture de tours et son diadème d'églises: on ne saurait imaginer un profil plus ferme et plus sévère revêtu d'une couleur plus riche, et où la physionomie du moyen âge soit plus fidèlement conservée. Je restai plus d'une heure en contemplation, tâchant de rassasier mes yeux, et de graver au fond de ma mémoire la silhouette de cette admirable perspective: la nuit vint trop tôt, hélas! et nous allâmes nous coucher" (80).

Gautier, who was known to his friends as an indefatigable traveler and whose record of observations must show many thousands of details noted and incorporated for his readers in *Voyages* or tales, found that at times he could see no more:

"En voyage nous avons pour règle, lorsque le temps ne nous presse pas d'une façon trop impérieuse, de nous arrêter sur une impression vive. Il est une minute où l'œil, saturé de formes et de couleurs, se refuse à l'absorption de nouveaux aspects. Plus rien n'y entre, comme en un vase trop plein. L'image antérieure y persiste et ne s'efface pas. En cet état on regarde, mais on ne voit plus" (81).

What was his literary procedure when this state had been reached, or when he wished to supplement his observation by other than direct reproductive means? There were various methods at his disposition, and his choice of words and metaphors is much wider than the strictly observational. It includes indication of artistic effects by the use of technical words belonging to the art in ques-

tion—words which in themselves do not indicate form or colour, but which help to create the general plastic atmosphere. Moreover, the author uses, in addition, not only pictorial or sculptural comparison, but also literary association, in order to represent or to make more vivid what was originally a visual impression in nature or in art.

An example of the technical procedure, a direct and yet artificial method of inducing the reader to call up pictorial memories, of arranging his images so that they may form a picture, is given in the earliest poetry of Gautier :

“ Au premier plan,—un orme au tronc couvert de mousse,
 Dans la brume hochant sa tête chauve et rousse,
 —Une mare d’eau sale où plongent les canards,
 Assourdissant l’écho de leurs cris nasillards ;

—Une vieille maison, dont les murs mal fardés
 Baillent de toutes parts largement lézardés.
 Au second,—des moulins dressant leurs longues ailes,
 Et découpant en noir leurs linéaments frêles .
 Comme un fil d’araignée à l’horizon brumeux,
 Puis,—tout au fond Paris, Paris sombre et fumeux,

Paris avec ses toits déchiquetés, ses tours
 Qui ressemblent de loin à des cous de vautours,
 Et ses clochers aigus à flèche dentelée,
 Comme un peigne mordant la nue échevelée ” (82).

It is in the same manner that the poet finds fault with nature for its lack of composition, when he writes in *Une Larme du diable* :

“ . . . Comme la nature est ennuyeuse . . . Voici un point de vue qui est des plus médiocres ; ce ciel est plat et cru, il a l’air de papier peint ; ces lointains ne fuient pas, ces nuages ont des formes saugrenues, ces terrains sont mal coupés . . . ” (83).

This is a method which Gautier employed in prose and poetry, in original as well as in purely critical work. It was in the latter that his contemporaries particularly noticed the presence of a technical terminology, and indeed reproached him for the introduction of a “ vicious habit.” So Henri Delaborde writes :

“ . . . Les mots de *pâte épaisse* ou *mince*, de *glacis liquoreux*, bien d’autres encore, ont pris une si large place dans le vocabulaire esthétique, qu’ils suffisent à peu près pour relever les beautés d’une œuvre ou pour en accuser les faiblesses. . . .

"Un écrivain d'un rare talent, mais qui a usé jusqu'à la limite extrême du droit d'emprunter à la réalité technique des images et des formes d'expression, M. Théophile Gautier, est le fondateur et le patron de cette secte . . ." (84).

The novelist has recourse to his technical knowledge when he writes :

"Cette image, à peine entrevue un moment, s'était gravée dans son cœur en traits profonds comme ceux que les sculpteurs tracent sur l'ivoire avec un poinçon rougi au feu" (85),

but it is the traveller above all who employs his studio education, his years as a critic of art, for the recording of the visual impressions which he receives. So his acquaintance with colour processes helps him :

"Cette neige n'était pas compacte, mais divisée en minces filons, comme les côtes d'argent d'une gaze lamée, ce qui augmentait sa blancheur par le contraste avec les teintes d'azur et de lilas des escarpements" (86).

The palette of the painter, as a matter of fact, becomes for him a standard of judgment for the colours in nature, and he finds that "il n'existe pas sur la palette du peintre ou de l'écrivain de couleurs assez claires, de teintes assez lumineuses pour rendre l'impression éclatante que nous fit Cadix dans cette glorieuse matinée" (87). The case is similar for the Sierra Nevada at sunset, when "tous les escarpements, toutes les cimes frappées par la lumière, deviennent roses, mais d'un rose éblouissant, idéal, fabuleux, glacé d'argent, traversé d'iris et de reflets d'opale, qui ferait paraître boueuses les teintes les plus fraîches de la palette" (88). The definition and use of colour, also—for the imagination as well as for the reproduction of effects actually seen—depends from time to time on the processes of the *atelier*; in Irún, for example, the traveler is interested in the balconies on which the women of the town spend many hours each day :

"Les deux côtés restent libres et donnent passage à la brise fraîche et aux regards ardents; du reste, ne cherchez pas là les teintes fauves et culottées (pardon du terme), les nuances de bistre et de vieille pipe qu'un peintre pourrait espérer: tout est blanchi à la chaux selon l'usage arabe; mais le contraste de ce ton crayeux avec la couleur brune et foncée des poutres, des toits et du balcon, ne laisse pas que de produire un bon effet" (89).

At other times, the use of a technical vocabulary seems to be the evidence of a habit of speech rather than a means of evocation,

and the author writes of the *tiers de jour* characteristic of the Spanish home with lowered awnings, and describes the views between Aranjuez and Ocana as most picturesque, in that "les collines d'un beau mouvement, bien frappées par la lumière, accidentent les côtes de la route" (90). For the most part, however, Gautier returns, in his *Voyages*, to the procedure of his early poetry, and asks his reader to picture to himself, in technical form, the scene which he presents with certain indications of its composition.

"Les saillies des balcons et des miradores rompent un peu la monotonie des lignes droites qui projettent des ombres tranchées, et qui diversifient l'aspect naturellement plat de constructions dont tous les reliefs sont peints et traités en décorations de théâtre: éclairez tout cela avec un soleil étincelant, plantez de distance en distance, dans ces rues inondées de lumière, quelques señoras long-voilées qui tiennent contre leur joue leur éventail déployé en manière de parasol; quelques mendiants hâlés, ridés, drapés de lambeaux de toile et de haillons à l'état d'amadou, quelques Valenciens demi-nus à tournure de Bédouin; faites surgir entre les toits les petites coupoles bossues, les clochetons renflés et terminés par des pommes de plomb d'une église ou d'un couvent, vous obtiendrez une perspective assez étrange, et qui vous prouvera qu'enfin vous n'êtes plus rue Laffitte. . . ." (91).

The artist's description of the view from the ruined tower of Baylén offers a summary of his various uses of technical procedure:

"La ville de Baylen, avec ses toits de tuiles, son église rouge et ses maisons blanches accroupies au pied de la tour comme un troupeau de chèvres, formait un admirable premier plan; plus loin, les champs de blé ondoyaient en vagues d'or, et tout au fond, au-dessus de plusieurs rangs de montagnes, l'on voyait briller, comme une découpeure d'argent, la crête lointaine de la Sierra-Nevada. Les filons de neige, surpris par la lumière, étincelaient et renvoyaient des éclairs prismatiques, et le soleil, semblable à une grande roue d'or dont son disque était le moyeu, épanouissait comme des jantes ses rayons enflammés dans un ciel nuancé de toutes les teintes de l'agate et de l'aventurine" (92).

A more frequent practice, however, than the use of technical art-knowledge and vocabulary for the rendering of visual effects, is that of employing non-technical visual and pictorial comparison and allusion. In his imaginative or descriptive work, and for the representation of a concrete object, Gautier frequently uses metaphors drawn from the visual field. Thus, the immense ears of Nyssia's elephant were like flags (93), her own arms as undulating as the necks of swans (94), while her tears "débordaient de ses

"yeux comme les gouttes de pluie du calice d'azur d'un lotus à la suite de quelque orage, et, après avoir coulé le long de ses joues pâles, tombaient sur ses belles mains abandonnées, languissamment ouvertes, semblables à des roses à moitié effeuillées" (95).

"Le grain de la neige, l'éclat micacé du marbre de Paros, la pulpe brillante des fleurs de la balsamine, donnaient une faible idée de la substance idéale dont était formée Nyssia" (96).

In Spain Gautier saw a horse which was rose-colored "comme une rose de Bengale glacée d'argent" (97), mountains veined with colors like African porphyry (98), cities which appeared, between the sea and the sky, as immense crowns in silver filigree, with the dome of the cathedral, yellow-painted, poised in the midst like a vermilion tiara (99). So the hall of *las dos Hermanas* is miraculously vaulted: "c'est quelque chose comme les gâteaux d'une ruche, comme les stalactites d'une grotte, comme les grappes de globules savonneux que les enfants soufflent au moyen d'une paille" (100). The panorama of the kingdom of Andalusia is also beautiful:

"Cette vue avait la grandeur et l'aspect de la mer; des chaînes de montagnes, sur lesquelles l'éloignement passait son niveau, se déroulaient avec des ondulations d'une douceur infinie, comme de longues houles d'azur. De larges traînées de vapeurs blondes baignaient les intervalles; çà et là de vifs rayons de soleil glaçaient d'or quelque mamelon plus rapproché et chatoyant de mille couleurs comme une gorge de pigeon. D'autres groupes bizarrement chiffonnées ressemblaient à ces étoffes des anciens tableaux, jaunes d'un côté et bleues de l'autre. . . . La lumière ruisselait dans cet océan de montagnes comme de l'or et de l'argent liquides, jetant une écume phosphorescente de paillettes à chaque obstacle . . ." (101).

This general visual comparison is frequent in the descriptions of Gautier; somewhat more rare is the specific pictorial or sculptural allusion and metaphor employed in the evocation of a visual impression. It may be noted, from the examples of visual metaphors already given, that these are for the most part fairly indefinite: it is to a *class* of objects that the comparison is made—to silver-filigree crowns, to half-blown roses, etc., without specification of particular detail, and without localization of the comparison to *one* vermilion tiara or to *one* grotto where stalactites of an especially curious form might be found. It is to the general visual notion that the author here makes appeal. Again, the

appeal is limited, for it is to only a part of the general notion that it goes: the elephant's ears resemble flags only in form, the mountain peaks are like pigeons' breasts only in colour. There is a selective and yet indefinite character in the comparison used, and for the most part Gautier depends for his evocation on certain limited conceptual connections in his readers. The case is the same for his use of pictorial allusion and metaphor: it is rarely that he gives an unlimited comparison—he is specific—and yet in about two-thirds of his description the comparisons are general in nature, and call upon the readers' concepts of a class of pictures, rather than on their knowledge and memory of one member of that class, for their evocation of the original visual impression. For the panorama of Andalusia, thus, Gautier ends his representation by saying that "c'était plus grand que les plus vastes perspectives de l'Anglais Martynn, et mille fois plus beau" (101). The comparison is limited to size and beauty—it does not enter into technical detail, effect of light and shadow, etc., but brings out specific points of similarity or contrast. At the same time, however, it does not make appeal to any one of Martynn's perspectives as a criterion of judgment and so does not call on a specific visual image of the reader; it depends, rather, on his general *concept* of Martynn's work. The scene in question will enter into this *class*, whatever the reader's actual notion of it may be.

Various examples of pictorial allusion and metaphor may be given from the work of Gautier, and the differences between the conceptual and the rarer imaginal comparison thus made more clear. In such a tale as the *Roi Candaule*, for instance, there are about a dozen phrases in which the author calls upon his readers' knowledge of plastic and pictorial art, and in all of these—as might be expected from the nature of the *genre*—the comparison is conceptual. In Candaule's palace, the old architecture "avait des proportions colossales et un caractère formidable. Le génie démesuré des anciennes civilisations de l'Orient y était lisiblement écrit, et rappelait les débauches de granit et de briques de l'Egypte et de l'Assyrie" (102). In one of its great halls

there were black basalt statues, which preserved the "poses contraintes de l'art égyptien" (103), and,

"Si par hasard vous avez jeté un coup d'œil sur un de ces beaux vases étrusques, à fond noir et à figures rouges, orné d'un de ces sujets qu'on désigne sous le nom de toilette grecque, vous aurez une idée de la grâce de Nyssia dans cette pose, qui depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours a fourni tant d'heureux motifs aux peintres et aux statuaires" (104).

In the *Voyage en Espagne*, Gautier makes use of both kinds of pictorial or sculptural metaphor—the imaginal and the conceptual. With the former, there is an evocation of the particular object of art to which comparison is to be made: the traveler, for example, is describing the vision of two dancers in the *baile nacional* at Vittoria:

"Quant à l'homme, il se trémoussait sinistrement dans son coin; il s'élevait et retombait flasquement comme une chauve-souris qui rampe sur des moignons; il avait une physionomie de fossoyeur s'enterrant lui-même: son front ridé comme une botte à la hussarde; son nez de perroquet, ses joues de chèvre lui donnaient une apparence des plus fantastiques, et si, au lieu de castagnettes, il avait eu en main un rebec gothique, il aurait pu poser pour le coryphée de la danse des morts sur la fresque de Bâle" (105).

As Gautier traveled over the mountains, there were some views which recalled to him, in their oriental simplicity, "les lointains du *Joseph vendu par ses frères*, de Decamps" (106), while in such a typical Spanish scene as a bull-fight, the animal, falling with the sword-holt between his shoulders, reminded the traveler of "ce cerf de saint Hubert qui portait un crucifix dans les ramures de son bois, ainsi qu'il est représenté dans la merveilleuse gravure d'Albert Dürer" (107). Such comparisons, which point to a specific object in Gautier's knowledge and which depend for their evocative power on the knowledge of the reader which shall enable him to have a visual image of this same object—and so a direct correspondence between the writer's original impression and the reader's secondary effect, gained from this record—such comparisons are fairly rare in Gautier's descriptive work. As a general rule, here as in the contemporary imaginative writing, he trusts to a conceptual evocation for the representation of the visual effect whose first impression interested him. Thus he writes of the harvest-scenes through which he passed on the

trip from Ocana, and after giving certain details peculiar to the Spanish surroundings, advances the idea that "un peinture de l'école de Léopold Robert tirerait grand parti de ces scènes d'une simplicité biblique et primitive" (108). For those readers who had a general idea of Léopold Robert's work, there would be here an indication of the characteristic traits of the actual scene before Gautier, but there would not necessarily be the imaginal evocation of any one of the paintings in question. The comparison may be even more indefinite, like that of the family of gypsies "campés en plein air et qui composait un groupe à faire les délices de Callot" (109), or, on the other hand, it may be more specific, like that of the Madrilègnes, who are "petites, mignonnes, bien tournées, le pied mince, la taille cambrée, la poitrine d'un contour assez riche; mais elles ont la peau très-blanche, les traits délicats et chiffonnés, la bouche en cœur, et représentent parfaitement bien certains portraits de la Régence" (110). In both cases, however, the comparison is one which is made to a *class* of objects, and to the idea which the reader has of such a class. The resulting evocation will then be more sure than when appeal is made to a particular object which may or may not be possible of presentation in the mind of the reader, but it will also be less vivid, in that it will probably not contain the imaginal material present in the specific object but from which abstraction has been made for the concept of the class.

It is, of course, a question at what stage, in the process of observing-noting-describing, this conceptual element enters into Gautier's composition, and the answer is not easy to find. It may be that the conceptual form is given to the comparison solely for the benefit of the reader—in order that there may be some nearly-certain reproduction, even though this be not the most definite and vivid possible evocation for the occasional reader with especial technical knowledge. On the other hand, it is possible that in Gautier's own mental process the individual visual impression excites only rarely a direct association with one specific work of art, which the observer already knows, that it possesses little imaginal stimulus for him, while, on the contrary,

the impression is rapidly and generally classed among a variety of former impressions whose common features have been abstracted, and of which the observer now possesses a concept. In this latter case, it will be the immediate consequences of his own impression which the writer will note and reproduce for his readers, rather than a transformation of primarily imaginal material for their particular benefit. In the case of Gautier, it would seem more likely that the general classification of his impressions is relatively immediate and involuntary, than that it is the result of an intention to produce a certain effect in literature. The number of conceptual artistic comparisons is large in Gautier's writing, and far surpasses that of imaginal metaphors. This is not in itself conclusive, given a sufficiently strong *parti pris* for a hypothetical evocative intent, but it must be taken also in conjunction with what is known of his recording process and, in addition, with the type of comparison which he draws from other fields. In so far as the observation-recording part of the process is concerned, it will be recalled that in his *notes de voyage* Gautier set down, as an immediate notation, the "aspect flamand" of the banks of the Guadalquivir, while it was not until later, in the preparation of his definitive manuscript, that this conceptual phrase was made more specific. The "effet de soleil à la Claude Lorrain" has already been referred to, and this is not the only phrase which demonstrates an immediacy of conceptual classification in the items which the critic noted as his first impression of the "Exposition universelle" and as his means of recall for these pictures, and basis of their description. Thus Gautier writes of the "mer bleue à la Delacroix," of a child "à physionomie de Léonard de Vinci—coloris italien," and of Lauder's "Christ marchant sur l'eau: genre Scheffer. . . ." (111). The same conclusion as to immediacy of concept is borne out by the evidence to be gleaned from Gautier's comparisons drawn from the field of literature, for here again it is the general idea of a book, or of a *genre*, which he refers to in his metaphors, while it would seem that in this case there was no need, to the end of *sureness*, for the sacrifice of *vividness* involved in the loss of the concrete.

Gautier's choice of literary allusions and metaphors in the representation of the visual is interesting not only for its elucidation of his mental process in the observing, noting and describing of an ocular impression, but also for its bearing on his more general habit of mind. The author depends largely, for his choice of material and also for its description, on what he can see with his eyes, and especially on works of sculptural or pictorial art. It must be conceded, however, after an examination of his descriptive and imaginative work, that there are included in his choice of allusion and comparison a large number of purely literary subjects; the sense of sight alone does not determine the verbal selection for the recording of strictly visual impressions. As noted above, this literary allusion is general for the most part, and calls upon the reader's abstract idea of the work referred to rather than on a specific memory. In the *Roi Candaule*, it is employed more often than the plastic comparison; in the *Voyage en Espagne*, the number of literary allusions and comparisons is more than double that of both conceptual and imaginal artistic metaphors. In his tale of ancient Lydia, for example, Gautier indicates the expression of his heroine's eyes by a description of their possible effect which is distinctly literary in provenance:

"Pour un de ces regards on eût trempé ses mains dans le sang de son hôte, dispersé aux quatre vents les cendres de son père, renversé les saintes images des dieux et volé le feu du ciel comme Prométhée, le sublime larron" (112).

and when Nyssia gave way to her anguish of outraged modesty, "Niobé, voyant succomber son quatorzième enfant sous les flèches d'Appollon et de Diane, n'avait pas une attitude plus morne et plus désespérée" (113). In the *Voyage en Espagne*, the traveler makes use of many general comparisons to the *Thousand and one nights*, and the marvelous buildings of the palace of la Galiana remind him of its "féeries" (114). So, too, a palm-tree calls forth more or less indefinite literary associations, for Gautier has never been able to see one "sans me sentir transporté dans un monde poétique et patriarcal, au milieu des féeries de l'Orient et des magnificences de la Bible" (115). During the nights which he and his comrades spent in the Alhambra, literary asso-

ciations were again awakened by the aspect of the great halls filled with shadows and veering reflections :

" Etendu sur mon manteau, je regardais tomber, par les ouvertures de la voûte, dans l'eau du bassin et sur le pavé luisant les rayons blancs de la lune tout étonnés de se croiser avec la flamme jaune et tremblotante d'une lampe.

" Les traditions populaires réunies par Washington Irving, dans ses Contes de l'Alhambra, me revenaient en mémoire ; les histoires du *Cheval sans tête* et du *Fantôme velu*, rapportées gravement par le père Echeverría me paraissaient extrêmement probables, surtout quand la lumière était soufflée . . . (116).

The visual, then, was capable of description in conceptual terms, both literary and pictorial, and Gautier, who wished to reproduce his original impression of things seen, made use of both of these means, as well as of direct description and of primary (imaginal) pictorial comparison. The combination of the literary and the pictorial, in general terms, is clearly shown in a representation of London at dusk :

" Les édifices qui longent le fleuve, magasins, entrepôts, usines aux longs obélisques panachés de flammes, débarcadères aux larges rampes, églises élevant au-dessus des maisons leurs vieilles flèches normandes ou leurs campaniles d'imitation classique, perdaient dans l'ombre ce que le jour peut y faire trouver de mesquin et prenaient des proportions cyclopéennes et colossales. Les toits devenaient des terrasses orientales, les cheminées des obélisques et des phares ; l'enseigne gigantesque en lettres découpées faisait l'effet de la balustrade trouée à jour d'un balcon aérien ; et le tout, sombre, immense, confus, semblait une Ninive sur qui passait le nuage de la colère de Dieu.— Un graveur à la manière noire en eût fait, avec quelques rayons de lumière livide, une de ces effrayantes estampes bibliques où les Anglais excellent " (117).

There are still to be considered, in the choice of vocabulary and metaphor, the extent to which Gautier employed senses other than the visual in the reproduction of what he had seen, the manner in which those sensations were combined to give definite verbal-evocative effects, and moreover, the interest which the author displayed in other than visual sensations when they occurred in the midst of the strictly visual. According to Edmond de Goncourt, Gautier was not interested in such sensations, and he used, in his literary reproductions, the visual only :

" Pour rendre la nature, Théophile Gautier faisait seulement appel à ses yeux. Depuis, tous les sens des auteurs ont été mis à contribution pour le rendu en prose d'un paysage. Fromentin a apporté l'oreille, et fait son beau morceau sur le silence dans le désert. Maintenant c'est le nez qui entre en scène ; les

"senteurs, l'odeur d'un pays, que ce soit le carreau de la Halle ou un coin de l'Afrique, nous les avons avec Zola, avec Loti . . ." (118).

It is, indeed, clear that Gautier did not make any such use of auditory or of olfactory sensations as did some of his successors; on the other hand, it is equally plain from an examination of his work, that he did not make appeal to the eye only. The writer uses, as a matter of fact, thermic and tactile images, allusions to odour and sound, description of the visual in terms of motion, and general representation of the kinesthetic as well as of the visual in extended description. The contribution of senses other than the visual to the representation of things seen may first be considered, and here it is found that the terms of motion are those most generally chosen by the author for the supplementing of his direct description. Thus, in *Les Deux Etoiles*, he writes:

"Les deux tours de Westminster ébauchaient leurs masses noires presque en ligne directe; le duc d'York posait, imperceptible poupée, sur sa mince colonne; puis à gauche, le monument du feu élevait vers le ciel ses flammes de bronze doré; la Tour groupait sa botte de donjons, Saint-Paul arrondissait sa coupole flanquée de deux campaniles; l'ombre et le clair jouaient sur ces vagues de maisons interrompues de loin en loin par l'îlot verdâtre d'un parc ou d'un square avec une grandeur et une majesté dignes de l'Océan . . ." (119).

The impression of the visual, rendered in terms of motion, is even more vivid in certain passages taken from the *Voyage en Espagne*. In the Escorial, Gautier and his companions descended to the crypt.

"Il fait dans ce caveau un froid pénétrant et mortel, les marbres polis miroitent et se glacent de reflets aux rayons tremblotants de la torche; on dirait qu'ils ruissellent d'eau, et l'on pourrait se croire dans une grotte sous-marine. Le monstrueux édifice pèse sur vous de tout son poids; il vous entoure, il vous enlace et vous étouffe; vous vous sentez pris comme dans les tentacules d'un gigantesque polype de granit . . ." (120).

The strange vegetation on the outskirts of Malaga is even more active in its appearance:

"De chaque côté de la chaussée se hérissent des aloès énormes, agitant leurs coutelas; de gigantesques cactus aux palettes vert-de-grisées, aux tronçons difformes, se tordent hideusement comme des boas monstrueux, comme des échines de cachalots échoués; ça et là un palmier s'élance comme une colonne épanouissant son chapiteau de feuillage à côté d'un arbre d'Europe tout surpris d'un pareil voisinage, et qui semble inquiet de voir ramper à ses pieds les formidables végétations africaines!" (121).

Gautier's visual impression is rendered in terms of motion, and the form and aspect which he saw are evoked for his reader through an appeal to kinesthetic images.

Among the points which seemed of interest to him during his journeyings, the author included, moreover, not only the plastic impression (in whatever terms it should be rendered), but also the primary impression which he received from movement seen or experienced. Thus, he notes a dancer who "secouait avec ses mains veineuses et décharnées des castagnettes fêlées qui claquaient comme les dents d'un homme qui a la fièvre ou les charnières d'un squelette en mouvement" (122), and here the original impression, one of movement, is recorded with the addition of a kinesthetic comparison. Gautier notes the torrent which boils at the bottom of a ravine, turns a mill and covers with foam the stones which stand in its way (123), while a work of art, Goya's *Buen viaje*, "où l'on voit un vol de démons, d'élèves du séminaire de Barahona qui fuient à tire-d'aile, et se hâtent vers quelque œuvre sans nom, se fait remarquer par la vivacité et l'énergie du mouvement" (124). The impression of movement which he experiences directly is also vivid, and becomes a part of the record which shall present Spain to his reader. The traveler describes at length the *galère* on which he and his baggage made a journey of many hours. "Nous étions secoués comme ces souris que l'on ballotte pour les étourdir et les tuer contre les parois de la souricière, et il fallait toute la sévère beauté du paysage pour ne pas nous laisser aller à la mélancolie et à la courbature. . . ." (125). In the ascent of the Mulhacen his physical sensations also become a part of the total impression and, indeed, through their strangeness, have a great importance:

"Nous étions presque toujours debout sur les étriers et renversés sur la croupe de nos chevaux pour ne pas décrire d'incessantes paraboles par-dessus leur tête. Toutes les lignes de la perspective étaient brouillées à nos yeux; les ruisseaux nous paraissaient remonter vers leurs sources, les rochers vacillaient et chancelaient sur leurs bases, les objets les plus éloignés nous paraissaient à deux pas, et nous avions perdu tout sentiment de proportion, effet qui se produit dans les montagnes où l'énormité des masses et la verticalité des plans ne permettent plus d'apprécier les distances par les moyens ordinaires" (126).

Conditions of heat and cold also affected Gautier, and here again the record of his travel includes this non-visual part of the original experience. He visits the church of the Escorial, and finds the paved court damp and humid, while "à vingt pas de la porte, vous sentez je ne sais quelle odeur glaciale et fade d'eau bénite et de caveau sépulcral que vous apporte un courant d'air chargé de pleurésies et de catarrhes":

"Quoiqu'il fasse au dehors trente degrés de chaleur, votre moelle se fige dans vos os; il vous semble que jamais la chaleur de la vie ne pourra réchauffer dans vos veines votre sang, devenu plus froid que du sang de vipère. Ces murs, impénétrables comme la tombe, ne peuvent laisser filtrer l'air des vivants à travers leurs épaisses parois. Eh bien! malgré ce froid claustral et moscovite, la première chose que je vis en entrant dans l'église fut une Espagnole à genoux sur le pavé, qui d'une main se donnait des coups de poing dans la poitrine, et de l'autre s'éventailait avec une ferveur au moins égale; l'éventail était, je m'en souviens parfaitement, d'un vert d'eau ou de feuille d'iris qui me fait un frisson dans le dos lorsque j'y pense" (127).

The thermic sensation which he notes may, however, be more pleasant, and it seems to the traveller possible to record it, and to make it more plain by a tactile comparison:

"Je sortis de ce désert de granit, de cette monacale nécropole avec un sentiment de satisfaction et d'allègement extraordinaire. . . . L'air tiède et lumineux m'enveloppait comme une moelleuse étoffe de laine fine et réchauffait mon corps glacé par cette atmosphère cadavéreuse . . ." (128).

Such sensations, then, are present to Gautier and impress him to the point of meriting perpetuation, but they are relatively rare and do not compare in number with the olfactory sensations remarked and, especially, with the auditory notations. When Gautier started out on his journey, he found along the edges of the road gardens surrounded with fine trees "de la plus humide fraîcheur," while a little cross-road was "tout parfumé d'aubépines et d'égantiers" (129). Later on, he noticed the gusts of salt air which began to reach him, and the perfume of the "lauriers-roses du Généralife" enchanted him. Odours had, indeed, an evocative value for him, and "en entrant dans la maison du Marocain, nous fûmes enveloppés d'un nuage d'aromes orientaux: le parfum doux et pénétrant de l'eau de rose nous monta au cerveau, et nous fit penser aux mystères du harem et aux merveilles des *Mille et une Nuits*" (130). Just so, in the

preparations for the reception of King Candaule and his bride, "d'espace en espace, des trépieds d'airain envoyaient au ciel des fumées odorantes de cinnamome et de nard" (131). In his imaginative works Gautier attempts to give some auditory effects, also, and the "*Obélisque de Luxor*," for example, offers a rendering of the silence of the desert in the following words: *muet, sanglots, rit, miaule, piaule, ces bruits de la solitude sont couverts par le bâillement, crier, silencieux* (132). At a Spanish dinner, Gautier notes the blind girl who approached his table "et se mit à chanter des couplets sur un air plaintif et monotone, comme une vague incantation sibylline" (133). In Grenada, the sounds give an impression of Africa:

"Le bruit de l'eau qui gazouille se mêle au bourdonnement enroué de cent mille cigales ou grillons dont la musique ne se tait jamais et vous rappelle forcément, malgré la fraîcheur du lieu, aux idées méridionales et torrides" (134).

Gautier's auditory reproduction is not confined to single epithets or to the isolated notation, but offers evidence for a great suppleness of verbal technique in the service of an acute sensory impression:

"Un bruit étrange, inexplicable, enroué, effrayant et risible, me préoccupait l'oreille depuis quelque temps; on eût dit une multitude de geais plumés vifs, d'enfants fouettés, de chats en amour, de scies s'agaçant les dents sur une pierre dure, de chaudrons râclés, de gonds de prison roulant sur la rouille et forcés de lâcher leur prisonnier; je croyais tout au moins que c'était une princesse égorgée par un nécroman farouche; ce n'était rien qu'un char à bœufs qui montait la rue d'Irun, et dont les roues miaulaient affreusement faute d'être suiffées, le conducteur aimant mieux sans doute mettre la graisse dans sa soupe" (135).

Gautier, then, makes use of all the possibilities offered by his sensations for the representation to his readers of the impressions which he experienced, and although tactile and thermic images are rather rare, they are not wholly neglected by him, while the kinesthetic and auditory subject receives fairly extended treatment, and the kinesthetic shares, to at least a limited extent, with the visual (directly or by means of pictorial or literary allusion) in the representation of things *seen*. The author, moreover, does not use one sense to the exclusion of all others in an individual description, and indeed frequently presents passages where verbal

renderings of all are to be found supplementing each other. In one instance, for example, it is for the purpose of giving an impression of great heat that the traveler employs the variety of his vocabulary:

"Le pavé brûle, les marteaux de fer des portes rougissent, une averse de feu semble pleuvoir du ciel, le blé éclate dans l'épi, la terre se fend comme l'émail d'un poêle trop chauffé, les cigales font grincer leur corselet avec plus de vivacité que jamais, et le peu d'air qui vous arrive semble soufflé par la bouche de bronze d'un calorifère; . . ." (136).

On the other hand, it may be for the evocation of an impression basically visual that the various sensations are recorded, so that the whole actual setting and atmosphere may surround the sights recalled and make their representation more precise and vivid:

"Les cahots épouvantables causés par le pavé chausse-trape de Tolède nous eurent bientôt assez réveillés pour jouir de l'aspect fantastique de notre caravane nocturne. La voiture aux grandes roues écarlates, au coffre extravagant, semblait, tant les murailles étaient rapprochées, fendre, pour passer, des flots de maisons qui se refermaient derrière elle! Un *sereno* aux jambes nues, avec le caleçon flottant et le mouchoir bariolé des Valenciens, marchait devant nous, portant au bout de sa lance une lanterne dont les vacillantes lueurs produisaient toutes sortes de jeux d'ombre et de lumière que Rembrandt n'eût pas dédaigné de placer dans quelques-unes de ses belles eaux-fortes de rondes et de patrouilles de nuit; le seul bruit qu'on entendit, c'était le frémissement argentin des grelots au cou de notre mule et le grincement de nos essieux. Les citadins dormaient aussi profondément que les statues de la chapelle de *los Reyes nuevos* . . ." (137).

At times the author records directly and singly the impression received; again he develops it through a grouping of the data gained from the various senses, but he practices a still further method of obtaining vivid evocations in his reader when he makes use of a transposition of sensations and in his direct verbal rendering of nature and art employs terms which, within the field of writing, are usually devoted to the description of a kind of sensation other than that which seems to have caused his original impression. The "*Symphonie en blanc majeur*" is, of course, the classic example of this type of procedure in the art of Gautier, but while it is perhaps the most developed of the instances, it is by no means an isolated case, and numerous transpositions, involving differing sensory correspondences or equivalences, may be noted and studied from the point of view of their significance

for the author's creative imagination. A much simpler rendering of visual sensation in terms of musical art may be found in the *Voyage en Espagne*, when Gautier describes his experiments with the wines of Jèrès :

" Nous suivîmes toute la gamme, depuis le jèrès de quatre-vingts ans, foncé, épais, ayant le goût du muscat et la teinte étrange du vin vert de Béziers, jusqu'au jèrès sec couleur de paille claire, sentant la pierre à fusil et se rapprochant du sauterne. Entre ces deux notes extrêmes il y a tout un registre de vins intermédiaires, avec des tons d'or, de topaze brûlée, d'écorce d'orange, et une variété de goût extrême . . ." (138).

The rose-laurel of the Généralife was noticeable for its " fraîcheur splendide et vigoureuse, presque bruyante, si ce mot peut s'appliquer à des couleurs " (139), while the cypresses growing through the walls presented their " noirs soupirs de feuillage au milieu de toute cette lumière et de tout cet azur, comme une pensée triste dans la joie d'une fête " (140). In his articles on the *Trésors d'art de la Russie*, the critic feels and expresses even further equivalences between a plastic art and music :

" Il y a en architecture, comme en musique, des rythmes carrés d'une symétrie harmonieuse qui charment l'œil et l'oreille sans l'inquiéter ; l'esprit prévoit avec plaisir le retour régulier du motif à une place marquée d'avance. Saint-Isaac produit cet effet : il se développe comme une belle phrase de musique religieuse tenant ce que promet son thème pur et classique et ne trompant le regard par aucune dissonance. Les colonnes roses forment des chœurs égaux, chantant la même mélodie sur les quatre faces de l'édifice. L'acanthé corinthienne épanouit sa verte floriture de bronze à tous les chapiteaux. Des bandelettes de granit s'étendent sur les frises comme des portées au-dessous desquelles les statues correspondent par des contrastes ou des ressemblances d'attitude qui rappellent les renversements obligés d'une fugue, et la grande coupole d'or lance dans les cieux la note suprême entre les quatre campaniles dorés qui lui servent d'accompagnement.

" Sans doute, le motif est simple comme tous ceux puisés dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine ; mais quelle splendide exécution ! quelle symphonie de marbre, de granit, de bronze et d'or ! " (141).

Paintings also may give the impression of pieces of music, and so may be described in terms suited to the latter form of art. In the *Holy Family* of Raphaël, hung in the Salon carré of the Louvre, " toute la composition est équilibrée sur un rythme savant, harmonieux comme de la musique, et les lignes s'y combinent, s'y répondent en formant les plus heureuses oppositions " (142). Leonardo da Vinci is also gifted with musical expression, and in

his *Monna Lisa* has incorporated a musical thought in the form of pictorial art :

" Sous la forme *exprimée*, on sent une pensée vague, infinie, *inexprimable*, comme une idée musicale ; on est ému, troublé, des images déjà vues vous passent devant les yeux, des voix dont on croit reconnaître le timbre vous chuchotent à l'oreille de langoureuses confidences. . . .

" . . . Ne trouvez-vous pas qu'il y a dans le portrait de la Joconde, sans vouloir jouer sur les tons et les notes, comme un écho d'impression musicale ? L'effet est doux, voilé, tendre, plein de mystère et d'harmonie, et le souvenir de cette adorable figure vous poursuit comme un de ces motifs de Mozart que l'âme se chante tout bas pour se consoler d'un malheur inconnu " (143).

Gautier's contemporaries, also, painted pictures which gave to the critic the feeling of another art, and which he therefore described for his readers in musical terms. It is Ziem, for example, whose truth, though paradoxical, is none the less exact, for " sur le fond réel de la nature, il fait chanter comme un chœur aérien les mélodies de la couleur " (144).

The transposition of the visual into the musical in its literary rendering is not confined to works of art, however, and the novelist and the traveller who had their parts in Gautier's total being made use, in their turn, of this vivifying method. Nyssia, the typification of feminine beauty, was formed of an ideal substance ; " cette chair si fine, si délicate, se laissait pénétrer par le jour, et se modelait en contours transparents, en lignes suaves, harmonieuses comme de la musique " (145). When Gautier saw, in Constantinople, a woman of the harem, enveloped in her Oriental draperies, looking out from a polished brougham characteristic of the Champs-Élysées, he found the vision most amusing : " le contraste est si brusque, qu'il choque comme une dissonance " (146). The light on the mountains, likewise, was felt by the traveller as a musical sensation. Thus, in going from Viège to Zermatt, " au-dessus de la ligne sombre des sommets, se déployait un ciel laiteux, nacre, presque blanc, pareil à ces premières teintes de lavis que les aquarellistes jettent sur le bristol. On y sentait comme une vibration de lumière ascendante qui rappelait le tremolo de violons dans le *Lever de soleil* de Félicien David " (147). Almost the same transposition had already been used by Gautier to express light, when, in the account of his

excursion into Greece, he wrote that "le jour se levait lentement avec un *crescendo* de teintes plus délicatement ménagées encore que le fameux *crescendo* de violons du *Désert* de Félicien David : à mesure que le ciel s'éclairait, les lignes de la côte lointaine se dessinaient plus fermement et sortaient de la neutralité des vagues teintes crépusculaires" (148). In the author's fictitious construction, also, the equivalence of musical and visual sensations is pointed out through his transpositions :

"Dans ce temple hybride seraient concentrées toutes les architectures du passé, celles du présent et celles de l'avenir : on y retrouverait, sous des formes plus savantes, les vertiges granitiques d'Ellora et de Karnac, les aspirations désespérées des ogives de la cathédrale de Séville ; l'aiguille gothique, le campanile romain, la coupole byzantine, le minaret oriental, formeraient d'harmonieux accords dans cette symphonie de pierre chantée à Dieu par tout un peuple . . ." (149).

The musical as a means of expression, through its correspondence to the visual, is then one of the determinants of Gautier's choice of words and images. Words themselves, however, taken singly or in their groupings in literary compositions, are also considered by the author to be in some cases truly equivalent to musical or other sensations, and are thus used by him as an exact transposition, and not only for the indication of sensory effect which he has experienced. In writing of Jules de Goncourt, for example, Gautier praises the lyric quality which is to be found in *Idées et Sensations* :

"Il y a là des choses charmantes, de l'esprit à foison, de la profondeur parfois, et des morceaux de description de la plus rare nouveauté. Si nous ne craignons que le sens de nos paroles fût mal interprété, nous dirions qu'il s'y trouve d'exquises symphonies de mots. Les mots ! Joubert les estime à leur vraie valeur, et les compare à des pierres précieuses qui s'enchâssent dans la phrase comme le diamant dans l'or. Ils ont leur beauté propre, connue des seuls poètes et des fins artistes" (150).

If words may become symphonies, they may also be in some cases equivalent to pictures, and as such Gautier judges the verbal descriptions which Marilhat gave of the places which he was in process of painting. "Ces lignes ne valent-elles pas le tableau de Marilhat qu'elles rappellent ? Il ne leur manque qu'une bordure d'or pour les suspendre au mur d'une galerie" (151). For the critic himself, certain words have come to possess a

definite plastic equivalent, an association which is inevitable and which actually determines the significance of the word itself.

"Par une de ces impressions plastiques involontaires qui dominent l'imagination, le mot Nil éveillait dans notre esprit l'idée de ce colossal dieu de marbre nonchalamment accoudé dans une salle basse du Louvre, et se laissant escalader avec une mansuétude paternelle par ces petits enfants qui représentent des coudées, et figurent les phases de l'inondation" (152).

Again, in his romances as in the *Emaux et Camées*, words become for Gautier true equivalents of visual sensations: the poem corresponds to the statue. Thus, in the case of Nyssia, "enfin, paraissant prendre sa résolution, elle jeta à son tour la tunique, et le blanc poème de son corps divin apparut tout à coup dans sa splendeur, tel que la statue d'une déesse qu'on débarrasse de ses toiles le jour de l'inauguration d'un temple. . . . ' Mon pauvre ami, ne va pas faire la folie d'être amoureux de Nyssia, tu perdrais tes peines; c'est une statue que je t'ai fait voir et non une femme. Je t'ai permis de lire quelques strophes d'un beau poème dont je possède seul le manuscrit, pour en avoir ton opinion, voilà tout' " (153).

Gautier's transpositions of art may go further than the single equivalence, moreover; it is not only by music-painting, poetry-music, etc., that he enlarges his choice of vocabulary and metaphor, but also by the combination of music, poetry, and plastic art. In the course of some of his individual pieces of verse the whole range of the sensations may be introduced for the rendering of a single impression. Of Saint-Amant's composition he writes, for example:

"La *Crevaillie*, excusez ce titre d'un goût hasardeux qui, dans le vocabulaire bachique du temps, signifiait une débauche à outrance, est un morceau d'une fougue, d'une ébriété et d'un lyrisme extraordinaires; comme d'une gigantesque corne d'abondance vidée par le dieu Gaster, ruissellent les mets et les vins avec un scintillement de couleur à éblouir les yeux. Les rimes résonnent comme des verres qui s'entre-choquent et semblent se porter des santés" (154).

One of the author's most extended transpositions is found in the "Cerulei Oculi" of *Emaux et Camées*, where he wishes to figure in words

"Une femme mystérieuse
Dont la beauté trouble mes sens."

These verses seem to give the key to the poetical development, in which he makes use of terms drawn from the vocabularies of the various sensations, in close conjunction, and with the apparent feeling that by their combination and transposition he is rendering things of the same nature. Thus he writes: *azur amer, humide paillette, azur indéfini, mes bras d'onde*,—and:

“ . . . Une grâce triste sourit;
 Les pleurs mouillent les étincelles
 Et la lumière s'attendrit

 . . . amoureuxment
 Fait ondoyer sa blancheur bleue

 Ainsi parle la voix humide
 De ce regard céruléen ” (155).

It seems evident, from the number of such transpositions to be found in Gautier's work, that his habit of using them for the figuring of various impressions was a characteristic of his habit of thought, and not only a literary device for the startling of his reader and for the catching of his attention by a new and curious form of expression to which the writer had been led by his ingenuity alone, without a basis of association between the original sensations. The transpositions do not appear to be wholly artificial, imposed on his literary work as a *tour de force*, and indulged in from pleasure in technique, and although these two factors may be present in their use by Gautier, they seem to be joined to something more profound, lying in closer connection with the author's psychology as an artist. Evidence for the existence of these transpositions at an earlier stage than the descriptive in the process of Gautier's composition is difficult to obtain, and his few direct claims for a true *correspondence* of sensations must be considered in connection with the whole concept of “plasticity.” It is possible, however,—to judge from the writer's notes on his perceptions and from his more personal writings, with their expressions of likes and dislikes, of ambitions and desires in the field of art, etc.—that the transpositions found in his finished works are based on a habit of perception, of voluntary association taking place almost at the moment of the experience.

A cause of inclination toward the hypothesis of more or less immediate perception of correspondences may be seen in Gautier's theoretical writing; from the notation of his individual responses to certain works of art the habit is sometimes visible in its operation. As early as 1836 the critic notes transpositions of art in the works of others, and praises them for the use of this process. Thus he writes:

"Paul Huret est un peintre poétique . . . ; ce qu'il cherche avant tout, c'est l'impression et en quelque sorte l'idée d'un site. Il fait tout concourir à exprimer cette poésie qu'il sait dégager mieux que tout autre, et chaque touche de son pinceau est une strophe de l'ode colorée qu'il chante. . . .

". . . M. Delacroix comprend parfaitement la portée de son art, car c'est un poète en même temps qu'un homme d'exécution. . . . Son style est moderne et répond à celui de Victor Hugo dans les *Orientales*: c'est la même fougue et le même tempérament. Le *Sardanapale* ressemble singulièrement au *Feu du ciel*, le *Massacre de Scio* à la *Bataille de Navarin*; les deux odes sont peintes comme les deux toiles. Une crudité fauve et splendide fait ressortir les tons, la touche a l'ardeur furieuse de la phrase. Il semble voir défiler à travers les strophes, des troupeaux de cavales balayant le sol de leurs crinières rousses; la peinture m'a fait l'effet de piaffer et hennir" (156).

The critic here not only notes the intention of one painter to create a transposition of arts, but he also *feels* the work of another in terms of the second art, bringing into equivalence with the sensation an association outside of painting and poetry proper. It is in the same year, again, that Gautier describes his reaction to the sight of a different work of art, and here also the sensations received seem to him to be like those due to another class of stimulus:

"Si la gravure n'était pas là devant mes yeux, au-dessus du bureau où j'écris, je ne pourrais jamais croire qu'une main humaine ait pu tordre sur une toile, une mêlée aussi rugissante et aussi effarée; on dirait un cauchemar de démon. Il me semble entendre ce dessin silencieux hurler et remplir ma chambre de clameurs et de tonnerres; je ne puis regarder comme tranquille et solitaire le cabinet où il est suspendu" (157).

This impression is so vivid that it is carried over into the poetic rendering which Gautier gives to the engraving of the *Passage du Thermodon*:

"On dirait qu'on entend, avec un sourd murmure,
La gravure sonner comme une vieille armure,
Et le papier muet semble jeter des cris" (158).

In 1848, again, Gautier reports his response to a transposition of arts in the works of others, in a manner comparable to that of 1836, when he writes of *Le Vannneur* that "l'effet poudreux du grain qui s'éparpille en volant ne saurait mieux être rendu, et l'on éternue à regarder le tableau" (159). Thus, also, he writes of Delacroix's *Massacre de l'évêque de Liège*:

"Ce tableau reste, malgré sa date ancienne (1831), un des plus étonnants chefs-d'œuvre de l'artiste. Qui eût jamais pensé que l'on eût pu peindre la rumeur et le tumulte? Le mouvement, passe encore; mais cette petite toile hurle, vocifère et blasphème; il semble qu'on entende voltiger au-dessus de la table, dans la vapeur sanglante des fanaux échevelés, les cent propos divers et les chansons obscènes de cette soldatesque avinée. . . . Comme cela fourmille et glapit, comme cela flamboie et pue!! quel beau rire égueulé . . ." (160).

During the six or seven years before this, Gautier and the *cénacle* in which he was interested had occupied themselves in experimentation with haschich, and the accounts which the writer gives of his experiences with the drug abound in mention of the transpositions of the senses which occurred under its influence. This side of the question seemed to interest him particularly, and, after receiving attention in his various *feuilletons*, is introduced into the recital of a haschich *séance* which he incorporated in one of his numbers of *La Croix de Berny*:

"J'étais dans un monde impossible. . . . Des jets d'eau, faits de rayons de lune en fusion, tombaient, en grésillant, sur des vasques de cristal qui chantaient avec une voix d'harmonica. . . . Une symphonie de parfums suivit ce premier enchantement, qui s'écroula en pluie de paillettes au bout de quelques secondes; le thème était fait d'une vague senteur d'iris et d'un parfum d'acacia qui se poursuivaient, s'évitaient, se croisaient, s'enlaçaient avec une volupté et une grâce adorables. Si quelque chose en ce monde peut vous donner une idée approximative de cette phrase embaumée, c'est le jeu des petites flûtes dans la danse des almées de Félicien David.

"Pendant que le motif passait et repassait chaque fois avec une douceur plus impérieuse, un charme plus fascinateur, les deux parfums prenaient le corps de la fleur dont ils émanent. . . . Je ne vous promènerai pas à travers les prodiges de ce rêve merveilleux fait les yeux ouverts; l'harmonie monotone du tarabouck et du rebek me parvenait vaguement et servait de rythme à cet étrange poème. . . . Tous mes sens étaient déplacés; je voyais la musique et j'entendais les couleurs; j'avais de nouvelles perceptions, comme doivent en avoir les êtres qui habitent une planète supérieure à la nôtre . . ." (161).

The dreamer rejoiced in his new and superior perceptions, which he felt that the true artist should have. It was at this same period that Gautier wrote, in his *compte-rendu* of Niedermeyer's

Marie Stuart, a passage in which he speaks of the ideal art of the future, that art which shall include all those now known to men and shall make available to all the senses the branch which is especially addressed to one among them.

"Dans le ciel, le poète écrira des strophes qui se traduiront en belles femmes, en ombrages verts, en fleurs épanouies; le peintre et le sculpteur réaliseront des formes douées d'idées et de mouvement; le musicien condensera, sur des tables de cristal, les vibrations fugitives de ses mélodies, qui décriront des arabesques éblouissantes, aux rameaux d'argent, aux filigranes perlés comme les floraisons dont l'hiver étame nos vitres. L'un touchera ses vers, l'autre entendra sa sculpture, et lui, verra sa musique. Tous les arts palpitent ensemble dans la même œuvre et chaque œuvre nagera dans un milieu de lumière et de parfums, atmosphère de ce paradis intellectuel!" (162).

In *Spirite*, where Gautier's hero is, as usual, endowed with some of the author's own characteristics, the question of correspondences is brought up and the heroine by her heavenly music renders exactly, with perfect equivalence, the poetry which Guy has written, while in this transposition, of which the hero is aware, he realizes for the first time the total power of music and also the whole content of his poetry:

"Spirite, avec une intuition merveilleuse, rendait l'au-delà des mots, le non-sorti du verbe humain, ce qui reste d'inédit dans la phrase la mieux faite, le mystérieux, l'intime et le profond des choses. . . .

"... Les mélodies s'échappaient du piano en vibrations visibles et colorées, se répandant à travers l'atmosphère de la chambre par ondulations lumineuses comme celles qui nuancent l'explosion radieuse des aurores boréales . . ." (163).

As a matter of fact, the true poet, according to Gautier, must be gifted with the power to perceive such correspondences as those of which he himself has written. This power, indeed, is manifest in Baudelaire:

"Il sait découvrir par une intuition secrète des rapports invisibles à d'autres et rapprocher ainsi, par des analogies inattendues que seul le *voyant* peut saisir, les objets les plus éloignés et les plus opposés en apparence. Tout vrai poète est doué de cette qualité plus ou moins développée, qui est l'essence même de son art" (164).

Gautier himself selected and made use of these correspondences in the realm of art; his associations with various sensations were from time to time, according to the testimony which remains available, transferred almost instantaneously into other fields of

sensory perception, and as a theorist in art he felt that such perception was the sign of a true artist. It seems legitimate to conclude that the transpositions of which he made use in his own work were in general the recording of one of his ordinary habits of thought, and not merely a *tour de force* indulged in for the astonishment of the reader.

Before passing from the examination of Gautier's choice of vocabulary and metaphor in the composition of his literary work, to the actual process of style by which these materials were linked together, one more category of words should be mentioned: those by which he succeeded in creating the emotional or intellectual impression of what he observed, by other means than verbal-sensory equivalents and plastic or literary metaphor. The author, indeed, did not remain strictly concrete in his vocabulary, but made use of abstract terms in various cases of literary rendition. Thus, in the beginning of his journalistic career, he urged himself to reproduce the whole of his impression, the emotional effect as well as the visual scene:

"Dès que l'on m'eut montré la petite bandelette découpée en dents de loup, de toits, de moulins à vent et de clochers qui mordait la fabuleuse ville, je me dis: Allons, regardons bien, écoutons bien nos sensations, et voyons un peu sur nous-même l'effet que l'Océan, cette immensité, produit sur le poète, cette autre immensité" (165).

The young author is amusing himself in the vein of the preface to *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, but the process to which he refers is one which enters actually into his own composition. Thus, in the *Deux Etoiles*, he writes of some great rocks which seem to have fallen from the sky: "ils étaient encore tout écornés et tout brûlés des éclats de la foudre. Quelque chose de surhumain devait s'y passer, une vengeance inouïe, un supplice à rappeler les croix du Caucase, et l'on chercherait involontairement sur quelque cime la silhouette colossale d'un Prométhée enchaîné" (166). In Spain, likewise, the traveler is sensitive to the emotional impression of the places which he visits, and he reproduces his experience in abstract as well as in concrete form. In the mosque of Córdoba, "l'impression que l'on éprouve en entrant dans cet antique sanctuaire de l'islamisme est indéfinissable et n'a aucun

rapport avec les émotions que cause ordinairement l'architecture : il vous semble plutôt marcher dans une forêt plafonnée que dans un édifice . . . le mystérieux demi-jour qui règne dans cette futaie ajoute encore à l'illusion" (167). With his poetical work the process is similar, and in "Cærulei Oculi," for example, one finds in addition to the kinesthetic and coloured phrases already noted a number of expressions which deal directly with the emotional impression in abstract terms: *femme mystérieuse, pouvoir magique, violence d'un irrésistible désir, l'ombre impossible à saisir, murmure une incantation, l'onde perfide*: all these expressions go to make up Gautier's representation of the *mystery* of the eyes and of the waves (168). The process was a conscious and voluntary one, for Gautier, plastic artist in his desires, always admitted that there was possible to words of abstract nature an evocative value which the description and the painting could not as such attain:

"Que d'heures j'ai passées là, dans cette mélancolie sereine si différente de la mélancolie du Nord, une jambe pendante sur le gouffre, recommandant à mes yeux de bien saisir chaque forme, chaque contour de l'admirable tableau qui se déployait devant eux, et qu'ils ne reverront sans doute plus! Jamais description, jamais peinture ne pourra approcher de cet éclat, de cette lumière, de cette vivacité de nuances . . ." (169).

In the question of Gautier's choice of words and images, aside from those which are direct sensory equivalents, there is not a great deal to be learned from the manuscripts which have been preserved, but it is, perhaps, of value for the confirmation of the findings in the finished work to note that in the corrections which the author made on the work in process there are no eliminations of phrases containing the types of evocatory material which have been noted in the printed pages. There is, on the other hand, evidence that Gautier considered these methods of representation necessary and fitting, for from time to time one finds an addition to the manuscript which expands the original text, and which is made up of a technical term, a pictorial allusion, an abstract phrase, completing the desired evocation. Thus, technical language is voluntarily substituted for less definite phrasing:

"L'ovale de sa tête était d'une pureté grecque—les (*bras semblaient*) *attaches du col semblaient* taillés par Pradier dans le (*paros le plus pur*) *marbre de paros*, ses mains appelaient le sceptre . . ." (170).

In another place, this method seems to cede to a second which has already been noted, when technical terminology gives place to certain concrete visual details:

"Un arbre énorme—le grand figuier—ombrage de ses larges feuilles de vert métallique (*dont l'aspect malgré sa parfaite doit sembler faux à des yeux parisiens*) un bassin de pierre recevant l'eau d'une source où les paysannes viennent puiser . . ." (171).

On the other hand, visual detail or abstract reference may be superseded by specific pictorial allusion:

"Un élégant hémicycle de marbre blanc sur lequel joue et tremble l'ombre des arbres traversés de soleil laisse apercevoir entre les sveltes colonnes ioniennes des fuites (*bleues d'une fraîcheur et d'une transparence*) (*d'un bleu idéal*) (*de ciel bleu, des monta . . .*) *d'un bleu idéal comme Watteau en a trouvé dans ses fonds de l'embarquement pour Cythère et Breughel de . . .*" (172).

A general pictorial allusion, moreover, is added to the manuscript of the *Voyage en Espagne*:

". . . Les jeux bizarres du soleil et de l'ombre *qui rappellent les tableaux de Decamps représentant des villages turcs* . . ." (173).

And here also, in the description of the *majo* of Córdoba, a number of the visual details included in the finished version were added to the manuscript after the original draught. This same manuscript shows, further, the incorporation of another visual-artistic metaphor:

". . . Toute cette ornementation . . . ne dépasse guère quatre à cinq pouces de relief: *C'est comme une espèce de tapisserie exécutée dans la muraille même* . . ."

It is here, also, that the rendering of an olfactory impression is reënforced by a change in the descriptive terms, when "tant on y respire un pénétrant arôme de plantes orientales" becomes "tant on y respire un vertigineux parfum de plantes aromatiques!", while the manuscript of the trip to Algeria shows the addition of certain details which ascribe physical emotion to inanimate objects:

". . . . Malgré le tran-tran insupportable de la machine *haletante*, les gémissements affreux des boiseries *en souffrance* et les plaintes inarticulées que rendent tous les objets mal à leur aise dans un navire . . ." (174).

Finally, Gautier enhances the evocative power of his writing by the addition of abstract phrases which serve to orient the reader toward the original impression desired for reproduction: "plaques d'ivoire d'une grandeur extraordinaire . . ." (175); "de temps à autre passait comme une ombre un cavalier arabe dans le lincoln de ses draperies . . ." (176); ". . . cette cour intérieure, éclairée d'un demi-jour tamisé et plein de mystère (fraîcheur) . . ." (177). Even the addition of an equivalence of abstract impression and colour is to be noted:

"Les prunelles de diamant noir nageaient sur une cornée de nacre de perles d'un éclat et d'une douceur incomparable avec cette mélancolie de soleil et cette tristesse d'azur qui font un poème de tout œil oriental . . ." (178).

The general processes of Gautier's choice of metaphor and vocabulary are thus further illustrated by his manuscripts.

1. C. HILPERT, *Eine Stilpsychologische Untersuchung an Hugo von Hofmannsthal*, p. 362.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 236.
3. "Le Progrès de la poésie française depuis 1830," dans *l'Histoire du romantisme*, p. 394.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
5. Cf. LEHTONEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12, 13; RAVÂ, *Rabelais et Théophile Gautier*, p. 12.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. vii.
7. Lovenjoul C-460; *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 234.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
9. Cherbourg, V; Lovenjoul C-464-35.
10. *Le Roi Candaule*, pp. 414-415.
11. AUBRYET, *Chez nous et chez nos voisins*, p. 65.
12. "Au bord de l'océan," 2 mars 1837, dans *Fusains et Eaux-fortes*, p. 69.
13. Feuillet de la Presse, 1^{er} avril 1844, sur la Syrène de M. Scribe.
14. V. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . ., I, 11.
15. "Au bord de l'océan," *loc. cit.*, p. 72.
16. *Exposition du Musée Colbert*, 29 mai 1832, cité par Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres*, I, 30.
17. Henri Regnault, pp. 22, 23, 31.
18. *Une Journée à Londres*, dans *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 116.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
21. *Pochades et Paradoxes*, dans *Caprices et Zigzags*, pp. 148-149.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
24. *Loc. cit.*, in *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 277.
25. Lovenjoul C-438-21.
26. Lovenjoul C-414.

27. *Poésies complètes*, I, 21, 1831.
28. *Lovenjoul* C-415-11: *Le Capitaine Fracasse*, t. I, chapitre I.
29. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
30. *Henri Regnault*, pp. 20, 30-31.
31. *La Presse*, 30 novembre 1837. It is interesting to note, in this whole connection, that the countess to whom the "Symphonie" was dedicated was a Russian, and a friend of Heine as well as of Gautier.
32. *Op. cit.*, p. 65.
33. *Les Vacances du lundi*, p. 153.
34. *Tableaux de siège*, p. 143.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
37. *Op. cit.*, p. 10.
38. *En Afrique*, dans *Loin de Paris*, p. 14.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
43. *En Espagne*, dans *Loin de Paris*, p. 206.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
46. Manuscrit du *Voyage en Espagne*, *Lovenjoul, loc. cit.*; printed version, p. 184.
46. *Lovenjoul, loc. cit.*
47. *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.
48. *Constantinople*, p. 38.
49. *Du Beau dans l'art*, dans *l'Art moderne*, p. 145.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
51. *Egypte ancienne*, dans *l'Orient*, II, 264.
52. *Excursion en Grèce*, dans *l'Orient*, I, 115.
53. *Egypte*, dans *l'Orient*, II, 133.
54. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 20.
55. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
60. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 16.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
62. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, p. 211.
63. *En Afrique*, dans *Loin de Paris*, p. 4.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
65. *En Espagne*, *loc. cit.*, p. 204.
66. *Ce qu'on peut voir en six jours*, *loc. cit.*, p. 343.
67. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 3.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
70. *Voyage en Russie*, II, 6.
71. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 191.
72. *En Chine*, dans *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 229.
73. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 224.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
75. *Constantinople*, p. 40.

76. Manuscrit du *Voyage en Russie*; Lovenjoul C-465.
77. Manuscrit de Cherbourg, V; Lovenjoul C-464-24.
78. *Loc. cit.*; Lovenjoul C-464-14.
79. Manuscrit de Cherbourg, V; Lovenjoul C-464-32.
80. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 174.
81. *Voyage en Russie*, II, 36.
82. *Poésies complètes*, I, 87.
83. *Op. cit.*, scene ix, p. 26.
84. H. DELABORDE, *De la critique d'art*, p. 218.
85. *Le Roi Candaule*, p. 365.
86. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 27; cf. p. 320: "Rien n'est moins varié que ces réseaux de rues, où l'œil n'aperçoit que deux teintes: l'indigo du ciel et le blanc de craie des murailles, sur lesquelles se découpent les ombres azurées des bâtiments voisins, car dans les pays chauds les ombres sont bleues au lieu d'être grises, de façon que les objets semblent éclairés d'un côté par le clair de lune et de l'autre par le soleil; cependant l'absence de toute teinte sombre produit un ensemble plein de vie et de gaieté."
87. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
93. *Le Roi Candaule*, p. 373.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 406.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
97. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 90.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
102. *Op. cit.*, p. 383.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
105. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 93; cf. the "grands lévriers dans le goût de Paul Véronèse et de Vélasquez," p. 33; a little Gothic altar, decorated with an infinity of figurines, "que l'on croirait d'Antonin Moine, tant elles sont légères et spirituellement contournées," p. 46.
111. *Loc. cit.*, Lovenjoul C-414.
112. *Op. cit.*, p. 377.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 406.
114. *Op. cit.*, p. 164.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
117. *Les Deux Etoiles*, II, 119.
118. *Journal des Goncourt*, VI, 318; 8 juin 1884.

119. *Op. cit.*, II, 21.
120. *Op. cit.*, p. 130.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
131. *Le Roi Candaule*, p. 362.
132. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 70. The kinesthetic vocabulary is also interesting in this connection: "L'Obélisque de Paris": glacent, prend, suis-je debout, plongeant, écrivant les pas, s'ébréçait, roula fauché, se dresse, pèse, s'abattaient dans leur essor, dans ses crues baisait, versant, penche, rasaient, heurté, emportant, promenaient, campé, passer, se renversant, vont, se couche, ferme, plongent, s'aiguisent, couve; "L'Obélisque de Luxor": veille, déroule, s'étale, flotte, se pâment, immobile, déchiffre, traçant des cercles dans l'air, l'attitude qu'ils gardent immuablement, tombant vaincus, m'écrases, essuie, s'appuie, ne dérange, trône sur l'immobilité, l'ennui me prend par accès, penche, montant ou descendant le Nil, transporté, être planté, s'arrêter, juxtaposées, jettent, sort.
133. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 188.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 19; the conceptual character of this development may be noted and compared to the usual type of pictorial and literary allusion.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
141. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
142. *Guide de l'Amateur au Musée du Louvre*, p. 32.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
144. *Souvenirs de Théâtre, d'art et de critique*, p. 304.
145. *Le Roi Candaule*, p. 375.
146. *Constantinople*, p. 336.
147. *Les Vacances du lundi*, p. 258.
148. *L'Orient*, I, 117.
149. "Paris futur," dans *le Diable à Paris: le Tiroir du diable*, p. 138.
150. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 200.
151. *L'Orient*, II, 357.
152. *Ibid.*, II, 172.
153. *Le Roi Candaule*, pp. 399, 489.
154. *Fusains et Eaux-fortes*, p. 297.
155. *Loc. cit.*, p. 57.
156. "Salon de 1836", *Cabinet de Lecture*, mars 1836.
157. "Le Passage du Thermodon," *La Presse*, 8 novembre 1836.
158. "Le Thermodon," *Poésies complètes*, I, 332.
159. "Salon de 1848," *La Presse*, 2 mai 1848.

160. *La Croix de Berny*, pp. 268-269.
161. *Loc. cit.*, dans *la Musique*, p. 262.
162. *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 177.
163. *Op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.
164. *Charles Baudelaire*, dans *les Portraits et souvenirs littéraires*, p. 205.
165. "Au bord de l'Océan," *loc. cit.*
166. *Op. cit.*, II, 75.
167. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 311.
168. *Loc. cit.*, *Emaux et Camées*, p. 57.
169. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 226.
170. Manuscrit des *Roués innocents*, Lovenjoul C-408.
171. Manuscrit du *Salon de 1852*, Lovenjoul C-408.
172. Manuscrit incomplet de l'article de l'*Artiste* du 8 février 1857, sur "La Reine Topaze; Psyché, Décors," Lovenjoul C-419-24.
173. *Loc. cit.*, Lovenjoul C-460; *Voyage . . .*, p. 206.
174. Manuscrit du *Voyage en Algérie*, Lovenjoul C-466-7.
175. Manuscrit de *Cherbourg II*, Lovenjoul C-464-30.
176. Manuscrit de *la Danse des Djinns*, Lovenjoul C-466-28.
177. Manuscrit du *Voyage en Espagne*, *loc. cit.*
178. Manuscrit du *Voyage en Algérie*, Lovenjoul C-466-11.

d. *Stylistic work*

Literary composition, however, is more than the choice of words and phrases which shall express an idea, chosen itself in accordance with the author's interests and in consequence of certain specific stimuli to write. The combination of these elements,—their interweaving, the form and style of the finished piece of work,—are equally indicative of the imaginative processes of the author. So it is with Théophile Gautier: there appear to be certain effects which he would attain in his writing, some of which are evident from his finished productions, others of which may best be noted from his work in process of composition. Their aggregate helps to denote his quality of mind.

Aside from the choice of materials which in subject and verbal expression are pleasing to him, Gautier works, in his composition, for the combination of these elements into a whole which shall be striking to his reader. He draws ideas, phrases, from various sources, and then, without regard to their provenance as such, puts them together, one after the other or intermingled one with the other, in such manner that the whole, while composed of fragments intrinsically pleasing to him, their collector, shall yet have an individual value and impress his public by its own interest,

exclusive of any documentary importance which the critic may later find in it. It is, quite naturally, later critics who have called attention to the manner in which Gautier built up this whole, who have distinguished the various sources which he puts together to make his impression; to some of them his method seems deplorable, through its check to originality, to others it appears a means of true creation, in that it actually changes and makes anew the materials with which it works. David, for example, in his study of *Le Pavillon sur l'Eau*, finds certain definite literary sources for the story itself in a collection of Chinese tales published by Abel Rémusat:

" . . . Certes, le conte chinois est gracieux; mais il faut lire le *Pavillon sur l'Eau* pour apprécier ce que le grand écrivain français a su tirer de cette grâce et comment il a su l'orner d'un luxe de détails aussi intéressants que pittoresques. Ces détails, où les a-t-il empruntés, quel usage en a-t-il fait? . . ." (1).

He answers his questions, with comparisons of Gautier's phraseology to its various sources, and maintains his opinion that the material which the French writer used had more than its original value in his hands, on account of the skilful combination which he made of it. Lehtonen, in his article on the *Capitaine Fracasse*, comes to a similar conclusion, and Lunn, also, notes Gautier's ordinary method as applied to such a difficult subject as the *Roman de la Momie*, with a successful use of various technical—archæological and historical—sources (2). It is Smith, perhaps, who makes the highest claim for Gautier's originality in the short story when he concludes, in his article on the author's brief narrative art, that in spite of the diverse provenance of the elements used, the employment which Gautier makes of them is essentially his own. In this, one of the author's contemporaries was entirely at variance with him:

" *Une Larme du Diable*, de M. Théophile Gautier, se distingue par cette fantaisie pleine de charme qui est dans la manière habituelle de l'auteur. M. Théophile Gautier, qui a fait rire tant de fois, et de si bon cœur, les vivants, fait aujourd'hui pleurer le diable; c'est une idée comme une autre, plus originale qu'une autre, très-certainement. Aussi n'est-ce pas l'idée que nous blâmerons, dans la production nouvelle de M. Théophile Gautier, mais la façon dont elle est rendue. A notre avis, l'auteur a été, en cette circonstance, sous la préoccupation trop directe des comédies de M. Alfred de Musset et des poèmes de

M. Edgar Quinet. La partie d'une *Larme du Diable* qui se passe sur la terre, ou plutôt dans le cercle de la vie ordinaire, rappelle évidemment *Fantasio* et les *Caprices de Marianne*, comme texture générale et comme dialogue; la partie qui se passe dans le ciel, ou dans le reste des sphères invisibles, rappelle non moins évidemment *Ahasvérus*; les pierres, les fenêtres, la fumée des cheminées, y prennent à chaque instant la parole. C'est pourquoi, malgré le plaisir très-réel que nous a fait éprouver la lecture d'une *Larme du Diable*, nous engageons sincèrement M. Théophile Gautier à chercher davantage en lui-même, désormais, la source de ses inspirations" (3).

In this instance, it is more than verbal phrases that Gautier is said to have borrowed and utilized without the stylistic transformation which would have welded them into an original piece of work. At other times, it is merely for a mingling of striking words and images that his critics praise or blame him (4); Ravâ ascribes this practice to journalistic habit:

"Il connaît cet art du journaliste qui consiste à mettre à profit tout son fonds de culture sans jamais en faire étalage; modeste et simple, il cède la parole à Rabelais toutes les fois que les mots de cet écrivain lui semblent avoir plus de rendu que les siens, et, comme il l'admire beaucoup, cela lui arrive assez souvent; de même, chaque fois que l'association est possible, elle jaillit spontanée pour donner lieu à des images piquantes" (5).

Whatever may have been his incentive, it is evident that the author aimed at the evocative through a combination of materials, and while words as such provided him with the bases of his construction, the method of combination was necessarily of primary importance.

"... *Le Triomphe de Pétrarque* est une œuvre poétique très rare par l'exquise combinaison des moyens employés par le poète. Pour célébrer dignement l'amant de Laure, Gautier a emprunté à Dante la musique grave et religieuse de son tercet; à Giotto, l'austérité gracieuse de ses saintes figures; à Pétrarque lui-même, la douceur lumineuse de ses images. Pétrarque monte au Capitole aux accords de la musique de son propre génie et de celui de ses grands prédécesseurs, et partout sur son passage brillent les images du XIV^e siècle italien" (6).

The study of words and their value, isolated and in combination, was a conscious preoccupation of Gautier. In the notes which Armand Baschet made, about 1852, when he expected to write a book on Gautier, and which, according to Lovenjoul, were taken almost at the author's dictation (7), it is stated that "l'auteur n'admet pas la séparation de la forme d'avec l'idée. Ce qui est belle forme est belle idée." Durand, in his analysis of Gautier's methods, expands this statement:

"Le mot, le terme, le vocable, voilà sa grande préoccupation, l'objet constant de ses recherches. Il le lui faut à la fois éclatant, bizarre, technique. Pour le trouver, il feuillettera tous les dictionnaires,—on assure qu'il en avait cinquante sur les rayons de sa bibliothèque,—il ira emprunter aux idiomes particuliers, aux différents arts, aux différents métiers; il le demandera à l'argot au besoin, au besoin au patois; il ira le chercher jusqu'en Orient, s'il le faut; s'il le faut, il le forgera.

"Le mot trouvé, il s'agit de le placer de façon à le faire ressortir; il s'agit de l'encadrer, de l'enchaîner.

"La préoccupation de Théophile Gautier, après celle du choix des mots, c'est donc la forme de la phrase; son étude constante, le mécanisme par lequel il pourra parler aux yeux, frapper l'oreille . . ." (8).

Gautier, in one of the rare direct literary instructions which his friends have preserved, touches upon the method which he employed to this end when he writes:

" . . . Mettre tout en action, par le mot lui-même, autant que possible.

"Pousser la comparaison au dernier degré, à propos de tous les mots. Ainsi, en comparant par exemple un *incendie* à une passion, employer tous les termes spéciaux à un incendie. Transposer ainsi dans le monde moral tous les termes du monde physique . . ." (9).

Vocabulary—and also the method of using it—are of primary importance to the writer:

"Le paysage sur lequel se détache cette action est peint d'après nature et avec un soin particulier; on voit que l'auteur connaît ce qu'il décrit, chose rare! Il a une érudition botanique infiniment supérieure à la mienne qui ne distingue que deux espèces de plantes, les carottes et les marronniers. C'est un luxe de fleurs à faire envie à Alphonse Karr, et j'y ai vu cinquante noms d'herbes et d'arbrisseaux non encore employés par les romanciers; beaucoup de sites sont touchés heureusement et il y a beaucoup d'air et de soleil dans tous ces paysages. Quant au style, il est travaillé avec art. Seulement les transitions ne sont pas ménagées et les phrases manquent quelquefois de liaison apparente: les transitions ne doivent pas être négligées, quoique, au premier coup d'œil, leur suppression donne au style un air net et dégagé, mais cela dégénère bientôt en brusquerie et en sécheresse. Labryère lui-même n'a pu échapper à cet inconvénient" (10).

Clearness and emphasis, then, must be attained by stylistic means. In Gautier's work the most evident of these means, in so far as vocabulary in particular is concerned, are repetition, accumulation or enumeration, and antithesis. Year after year, for example, the art critic opened his *Salon* by certain strictures on his colleagues who could not believe that the present might equal the past. In 1836, at the very beginning of his long series of reviews, he wrote:

"Il est bien venu que le Salon ne vaut pas celui de l'année précédente.— C'est ainsi tous les ans. Nous allons voir bientôt les Jérémies critiques monter sur le toit de leurs feuilletons, se répandre de la sciure de bois sur leurs faux toupets et pleurer une grande larme d'encre à propos de l'art qui s'en va . . ." (11).

The next year his opening words were similar :

" . . . Sans doute les critiques selon leur louable habitude, ne manqueront pas de dire que le Salon de l'année précédente valait mieux que celui-ci : c'est une chose convenue, et dont on nous permettra de douter, comme de toute chose convenue . . ." (12).

So it continued through the years, and the position of Gautier, in this matter, was made clear and emphatic by the repetition of his point of view. Again, in the last year of his life, the author repeated an image which he had used constantly for its expressive value in his earlier work, and on which he had based *Mademoiselle Dafné*, when he wrote in his description of a visit to the new opera house :

"Aux paliers succédaient les paliers. Comme dans ce cauchemar architectural de Piranèse, où l'on voit un homme amaigri par la fatigue et le désespoir graver des degrés qui se renouvellent toujours, l'ascension semblait ne devoir jamais finir" (13).

L'Amour souffle où il veut shows, in various places, the value which Gautier consciously or unconsciously put upon the repetition of phrases and images. Thus, in the second scene of the first act, the description of Casilda draws traits from the *Jeunes-France* and from one of the poems of *España*:

"Casilda n'était pas jaune comme une orange . . ."

" . . . Elle daigna me tendre
L'œillet rouge piqué dans ses cheveux de jais" (14).

In the fifth scene there are memories of *Albertus*:

"J'ai voulu que son cœur fût grand . . .
J'ai confié les clefs de toutes les serrures
À ses petites mains, qui n'en sont pas moins pures,
Elle lit dans Shakspear, Raphaël et Mozart" (15).

while in the second act, scene one, a situation of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* is again outlined :

"Je te suivrai partout sous un habit de page,
Et nous courrons le monde en galant équipage" (16).

The repetition of striking phrases takes place, also, within a single work (17), but for clarity and emphasis Gautier seems here to depend rather on accumulations of images, on enumerations in the true manner of Hugo. This characteristic of Gautier's method has been noted by Poulain, in regard to some of the *Emaux et Camées*, when he contrasts the "Plaintive Tourterelle," for example, with a similar piece by Heine, and when he points out the accumulation of images which is the very substance of the "Symphonie en blanc majeur" (18). The same process is found in his prose:

" . . . Les montagnes qui bornent cette nappe de saphir, la dent de Naye, la dent de Jaman, les Pléiades, les Diablerets, la dent de Morcles, le mont Catogne, le mont Combin, la dent du Midi revêtent des tons que nous avons retrouvés seulement dans les montagnes de Grèce et les rochers des Cyclades baignés par l'azur intense de l'Archipel. Ce sont des gris du lin, des violets tendres, des roses d'hortensia, des bleus de cendre d'Egypte, des blancs nacrés, mais tout imprégnés et traversés de lumière, baignant dans une brume transparente et se distinguant à peine des eaux du lac où ils se reflètent et se prolongent . . ." (19).

Development by accumulation and enumeration was characteristic of Gautier's literary generation, and his personal habits of writing—combination of phrases, of ideas, etc.—easily lent themselves to this type of treatment.

The use of antithesis, moreover, is closely allied to the author's general literary methods. It is a means of development which he employs very frequently and which is striking in its effect. Yriarte writes of it as follows:

" Par une tendance d'esprit particulière, une fantaisie dont nous n'avons pas la clef, mais qui jette le plus grand désordre dans l'esprit de ceux qui ne sont pas initiés, Gautier aime à donner aux choses les plus suaves des noms terribles ou répulsifs; on n'est pas maître de cacher son étonnement lorsqu'on voit, au nom de ce qui peint quelque chose d'effrayant et de monstrueux, accourir une antithèse harmonieuse et blanche, douce et frêle" (20).

Given his habit of storing up images and words which have pleased him for various reasons, and the further method of using enumerations and accumulations for literary development, it does not seem surprising that this follower of the *Préface de Cromwell* should have adopted the antithesis as an extra, and particularly valuable, instrument in his attempts at clear and well accentuated

composition. This means was of especial effectiveness, in that—like the grotesque beside the beautiful in the theory of Victor Hugo—it made the impression desired more clear by contrast, and accentuated it by its emphasis on the totality of impression. Its use in “*Cærulei oculi*” is indicative of its value to the author. Here Gautier wishes to reënforce an impression of mysteriousness, and the literary means of development is calculated to bring this about directly. So he writes:

“ . . . silencieuse Au bord des flots retentissants . . .
 . . . humide paillette. . . .
 Les pleurs mouillent les étincelles. . . .
 Une grâce triste sourit. . . .
 . . . le flot aplani . . . ailes inquiètes. . . .
 Montrant son sein, cachant sa queue. . . .
 Ondoyer . . . sous l’émail vert du flot dormant . . .
 . . . saveur âcre . . . miel . . .
 . . . bruire . . . s’apaiser . . . ” (21).

The contrasts offered, their very antagonism, create in the reader an impression of the strangeness of this being as Gautier himself felt it. Again, the whole structure of “*Le monde est méchant*” is antithetic, with the “*il dit*” of one stanza, and the answering “*pourtant*” of the following, ending in a reconciliation of the two points of view, and an explanation, in the last verse (22). Gautier’s *parti pris* for this method of development, which pleases him on account of its work for clarity and emphasis, may lead him so far as to cause even a displacement of accent on the original material, on the real experience or the actual observation preserved in his mind, provided that by this displacement a better representation of the effect of the experience or observation can be attained. That which is striking, that which gives precision and conclusiveness to the impression to be conveyed, is chosen and embodied in the antithesis. Thus, in his poem on the Escorial, Gautier departs somewhat from his actual observation during the journey in Spain, but the piece, developed by means of antithesis, is only the more evocative of a true impression in his readers. In the *Voyage*, Gautier wrote that even the swallows “*semblaient effrayées du silence de mort qui régnaient dans cette Thébaïde,*”

although they tried to introduce there a little noise and animation. The scene differs in *España*:

“ . . . La cigale s'endort au bout des cheminées
Partout l'herbe verdit les cours abandonnées
Et tout semblerait mort, si du bord des corniches,
Des mains des rois sculptés, des frontons et des niches,
Avec leurs cris charmants et leur folle gaité,
Il ne s'envolait pas des essaims d'hirondelles
Qui, pour le réveiller, agacent à coups d'ailes
Le géant assoupi qui rêve éternité! . . . ” (23).

Gautier's transformation of facts for the purpose of forming an antithesis has been successful in its purpose, for the poem produces an effect of desolation clearer and more definite than that which was given by the direct recording of his impression at the Escorial.

In the manuscripts, as well as in the published versions of Gautier's works, there are found evidences of the methods which the author used in his effort to obtain certain stylistic effects. Their examination shows alterations—in the form of additions, or eliminations, or changing of order and substitution of phrases—which work toward a concision and precision of expression, toward a unity of impression, and toward the general as opposed to the particular and personal. Gautier's attainment of concision in expression is, as Brunet and Regnier have pointed out (24), noticeable above all in his poetic compositions; many of the poems of *Emaux et Camées* have a possible content far in excess of the actual literary expression, and in spite of the many images which they contain are yet a condensation of the author's thought. His prose, on the other hand, does not give the same effect of concision as do these poems, but rather indicates inclusiveness, extension of form to allow for the direct expression of a large content in observation or ideas, as the objective of the writer. The impression given by these two kinds of published work is confirmed by the manuscripts of Gautier. In the prose manuscripts, where the alterations are, in any case, relatively rare, the additions outnumber the eliminations: there are a number of explanatory phrases, of pictorial or literary images, etc., added

in the course of composition; eliminations, not replaced by equivalent phrases, are infrequent. The manuscripts of the poems, on the contrary, show from time to time an intention to compress, to condense into smaller compass, the abundance of ideas which come to the author's mind. Thus, in the "Fumée" of *Emaux et Camées*, three verses which appear in an autograph copy of the poem are reduced to two:

"Sous les pâles noyers s'abrite
Une chaumière au toit bossu;
Le mur par écailles s'effrite,
Le seuil désert est tout moussu.

"Là-bas, sous les arbres, s'abrite
Une chaumière au dos bossu;
Le toit penche, le mur s'effrite,
Le seuil de la porte est moussu.

"Une roue en javelle tombe
Auprès du puits demi-comblé
Ni poule, ni coq, ni colombe,
Tout est muet et désolé.

"La fenêtre, un volet la bouche;
Mais du taudis, comme au temps
froid
La tiède haleine d'une bouche,
La respiration se voit . . ."

"On dirait que Mob seule y couche,
Mais cependant comme au temps
froid
La tiède haleine d'une bouche,
Sa respiration se voit. . . ."

The impression which the poet conveys by the definitive, and more concise, version is quite as strong as in the more extended variant. This is true also of the "Odelette anacréontique," of which three manuscript verses are replaced by a single verse of the published poem, with its inclusive metaphor:

"L'oiseau qui marche dans l'allée
S'effraye et part au moindre bruit;
Ma passion est chose ailée
Et s'envole quand on la suit" (25).

Gautier's effort for precision is much more general than his work toward concision; throughout his literary production he avoids intentionally the "chanson grise" dear to Verlaine. In so far as words themselves are concerned, he will use the exact term needed even if it be necessary to explain it for the understanding of the general reader; thus, in the *Roman de la Momie*,

" . . . quelque notes rejetées à la fin du volume pourraient éclairer ce qui, à votre avis, semblerait de compréhension difficile aux lecteurs moins égyptiens que moi. J'avais cependant tâché d'être clair et chaque terme non usuel est expliqué, autant que possible par une description immédiate de l'objet nommé . . . " (26).

In the manuscripts, this desire for precision is seen in the substitution of more definite and more evocative phraseology for the words originally written. Thus, great *banks* of clouds become *archipélagos*, and the old ramparts of Avignon are "couleur de pain rôti" rather than "blonds et vermeils." In setting out for Algeria, Gautier had a "nostalgie de l'azur. Dans nos rêves il nous semble être bercé par des vagues (*bleues*) de *saphir* sous un ciel (*bleu*) de *turquoise*. Nous sommes en proie à des hallucinations de cobalt, d'outremer et d'indigo. . . ." (27). A similar reworking for exactness of expression is to be noted in the manuscript of *les Roués innocents*, for example, where it is visible from the sequence of the lines of writing that the corrections were immediate, made before the end of the sentence had been written:

" . . . Une rumeur confuse composée des bruits des entretiens particuliers (*commençait à flotter dans l'air*) (*bourdonnait*) *flottait en bourdonnant* au-dessus de la table et déjà pour se faire entendre il était nécessaire de (*forcer*) *grossir* la voix. La flamme des bougies chauffait (*déjà*) avec force et les fleurs (*posées*) *groupées* dans les corbeilles du surtout dégageait des parfums pénétrants . . ." (28).

In one instance in Gautier's criticism of the *Paris démolì* of Edouard Fournier, this care on the part of the journalist is directed toward an expression which shall render exactly the historical material with which he is dealing:

" . . . Le cabinet vert . . . lieu formidable et sinistre où s'est dénoué le drame de Thermidor sous le pistolet du gendarme Méda—qui vit (*tomber*) le sang de Robespierre (*sur*) *tacher* la signature interrompue *qu'il mettait en bas d'une proclamation* . . ." (29).

This illustration of Gautier's method indicates, also, a further step toward precision: the addition of explanatory material, as well as the substitution of the more exact phrase. The description of a picture in the Salon of 1852 shows these two tendencies, when the critic writes:

" . . . son militaire (*en convalescence*) au bras en écharpe. . . ."

" . . . relevant leur (*provision*) *urne remplie*. . . ."

"Le tableau . . . représente une batterie de(s) tambours, de l'armée (*française*) d'Italie (*au temps de la première république*) en 1796 . . ." (30).

In *Emaux et Camées*, again, the author works to the same end of definiteness of impression:

"(Elle semblait frôler) A-t-elle joué dans les boucles
Des cheveux lustrés de Don Juan

(A la fois) Et tenu courtisane (et) ou reine
(On voyait dans ses doigts) Entre ses doigts si bien sculptés
Le sceptre de sa Souveraine
Ou le sceptre des voluptés . . ." (31)

In the "Carnaval de Venise" the changes make for a representative value in the final metaphor, as well as for a closer definition of the desired impression through the substitution of concrete terms for a more abstract description. The manuscript variants pass, by an intermediate step, to the final version of *Emaux et Camées*, in the following manner:

I. "Le chant coquette d'un ton bouffe
} Mais je me sens triste et navré
} Je suis triste jusqu'à la mort
Et comme un ramier qu'on étouffe
} Mon pauvre cœur gémit sévère
} Mon cœur soupire avec effort." (The words "mon cœur
soupire" are struck out
in the manuscript.)

II. "Plus l'air bavarde d'un ton bouffe,
Plus je me sens triste et navré,
Et, comme un ramier qu'on étouffe,
Gémit mon pauvre cœur serré."

III. "A l'air qui jase d'un ton bouffe
Et secoue au vent ses grelots,
Un regret, ramier qu'on étouffe,
Par instant mêle ses sanglots" (32).

This same poem offers variants which show, in addition to the effort toward precision, the desire of the author to avoid the personal and to accomplish in his work something impersonal, of a general application. In certain instances, it is true, the personal remains—this is, after all, a lyric composition—and here the indefinite becomes the concrete and evocative:

"Mon âme en pleurs s'est souvenue
De mille choses d'autrefois . . .
On dirait qu'une voix connue,
Vibre parmi toutes ces voix . . ." (Manuscript variant)

" Mon âme en pleurs s'est souvenue
De l'avril, où, guettant au bois
La violette à sa venue,
Sous l'herbe nous mêlions nos doigts." (Definitive version) (33).

At other times the personal element is omitted in the re-working of the verses, and the typical is introduced, still in concrete and precise form:

" Depuis trente ans sa ritournelle
En geignant nous suit en tout lieu.
La guinguette, sous sa tonnelle,
Le braille en cuvant son vin bleu." (Manuscript variant.)

" La guinguette, sous sa tonnelle
De houblon et de chèvrefeuil,
Fête, en braillant la ritournelle,
Le gai dimanche et l'argenteuil." (Definitive version) (34).

Another instance of this tendency to avoid the personal is to be noted in the " Etudes des mains," where the author substituted the following verse, in the definitive edition, for various trial forms:

" On voit tout cela dans les lignes
De cette paume, livre blanc
Où Vénus a tracé des signes
Que l'amour ne lit qu'en tremblant." (Definitive version.)

"(On lisait tout) (dans) J'ai lu tout cela dans sa cette paume . . .

(J'ai lu) On lit tout cela dans les lignes
De cette frêle main d'enfant
Plus blanche qu'un duvet de cygnes,
Et que j'ai baisée en tremblant . . ." (Manuscript variants) (35).

In his prose as well as in his verse Gautier is led to avoid the personal, and his manuscript changes give further evidence here. So in the *Voyage en Russie* the author adds an apologetic phrase to his expression of a personal preference:

" . . . Malgré notre préférence pour le vieux style, nous devons avouer que quelques amateurs poussent un peu loin, à notre (goût) avis, la passion des vieilles peintures byzantines . . ." (36).

In the *Voyage en Espagne*, an elimination in the manuscript (which, however, has been restored to the text in the Charpentier edition) indicates a similar intention:

" . . . Une belle porte . . . d'un si grand goût qu'on aurait pu la croire romaine, formait à la ville des califes une entrée fort majestueuse, (à laquelle cependant j'aurais préféré une de ces belles arcades moresques évasées en cœur, comme on en voit à Grenade) . . ." (37).

The findings of the manuscripts in this matter go to confirm Gautier's theory of the impersonal in literature, as Feydeau recorded it in his *Souvenirs intimes*. There the author recommends the plastic for its impersonality, in that it is representative of an impression and effective for others as well as for him who first experienced it (38). Baschet's notes on Gautier's theory and technique give the same indication:

"Le sentiment de la nature, présenté simplement; elle ne séduit pas. Il peint mais n'affirme ni ne commente pas. Il *présente*" (39).

There is, from time to time, however, one form of intervention of the author in his work of presentation which is evident from the manuscripts, and which shows a voluntary effort on his part toward a unity of impression, toward a synthesis of the various elements which he has set before his reader. Thus he writes of a great parterre at Grenada, "*rempli d'arbustes et de fleurs, myrtes, rosiers, jasmains, toute la corbeille de la Flore grenadine*" (40). In general the unifying phrase or sentence is of emotional rather than intellectual content, however, and indicates by the introduction of a synthesizing abstraction the impression which the author has hoped to convey by the reporting of concrete observations. This method is employed in the *Voyage en Espagne*: ". . . Pas un souffle d'air, pas une hâleine de vent à faire remuer un duvet. On ne saurait rien imaginer de plus morne, de plus triste et de plus sauvage . . ." (41). The impressions of Algeria are also in need of connection to the reader's general concepts:

" . . . Les prunelles de diamant noir nageaient sur une cornée de nacre de perle d'un éclat et d'une douceur incomparable, avec cette mélancolie de soleil et cette tristesse d'azur qui font un poème de tout œil oriental . . ." (42).

and in Russia the same literary process is used, when the phrase: "Nous entrâmes au Kremlin par la porte Spasskoi qui s'ouvre sur la Krasnaïa. Elle est pratiquée . . ." becomes: "Nous

entrâmes au Kremlin par la porte Spasskoi qui s'ouvre sur la Krasnia. Nulle entrée ne saurait être plus romantique. Elle est percée. . . ." (43). The author's whole impression is not evident from the beginning of his presentation, nor is it necessarily deduced from the elements which he offers in the course of his recital. At times he realizes this, and his manuscripts bear the trace of an addition to his thought when he inserts, between the reporting of two pictures, for example, such a culminating phrase as " Et voilà un tableau charmant " (44), or when he adds to the end of his paragraph an indication of its entire meaning: " Il se figure l'aide du perron de Tortoni ou de la Maison de conversation, ou plutôt il n'y songe même pas " (45).

In addition to Gautier's work toward concision, precision, impersonality and unity of impression, there is to be found in his manuscripts the evidence of a further stylistic process, that of accentuation. This is an inclusive term, and in it must be comprehended the author's preoccupation with accentuation proper—the sonorities within the sentence, the upbuilding of the poetic line, etc.—and also his choice of form in its relation to subject-matter—the *genres* and their specific requirements. The work of accentuation varies with every author: Flaubert's preoccupation with sonority, and the early appearance of his "chutes de phrases" during the process of composition, will not be forgotten. For the characterization of Gautier's imagination, likewise, his type of work in accentuation has its importance.

Accentuation as work for auditory effects may first be considered: To what extent does Gautier strive for varying sonorities? Is his accentuation within the individual piece fixed and, as it were, instinctive? What is his process for obtaining the musical and the poetic in his compositions? The answer to the first question does not involve the use of auditory imagery—this matter has already been considered—but is rather the determination of the author's dependence on the sonorous properties of his words for the impression which he wishes to attain. It would seem that Gautier's interest in vocal effects was relatively slight, at least in so far as his prose is concerned. In that passage of

the *Journal des Goncourt* where Flaubert's joy in the appearance of his "chutes des phrases" is reported, there is also given Gautier's reaction to this idea:

" . . . Ainsi, (Flaubert) a déjà la musique des fins de phrases qu'il n'a pas encore faites! Il a ses chutes, que c'est drôle, hein? . . . Moi, je crois qu'il faut surtout dans la phrase un *rythme oculaire*. Par exemple, une phrase qui est très longue en commençant, ne doit pas finir petitement, brusquement, à moins d'un effet. Puis, très souvent, son rythme, à Flaubert, n'est que pour lui seul et nous échappe . . ." (46).

It is true that from time to time Gautier makes use of phonetic effect for the reënforcement of his impression; the first three stanzas of the "Thermodon," with their insistence on the *ch* and *k* sounds which enter into his conception of a *combat de chevaux*, are noteworthy (47), and in the *Tricorne enchanté* there is a passage of alliterations with evident comic intent:

Géronte: "Me voilà délivré de ce fieffé vaurien!
Il aura beau crier, je ne lui rendrai rien;
Car comment a-t-il pu, même étant économe,
Moi ne le payant pas amasser cette somme.

Et j'aime autant qu'il aille ailleurs se faire pendre.—

Frontin: "Très bien! mais vous voilà sans valet maintenant" (48).

On the whole, however, there seems to be little positive effort toward the utilization of the sonorous properties of speech. This view is confirmed by the evidence of the manuscripts in regard to the extent of Gautier's initial realization of the auditory effect of what he writes. His "chutes de phrases" are not given as final, and there is an actual work of correction of the primary version of various sentences, which has for its object the improvement of the whole from the sonorous standpoint. The author works consciously to avoid repetition of syllables in his prose: *difficile* becomes *mal aisé* when *différences* follows in the next clause, *biblique* is replaced by *de la Bible* in order to permit of *identiques* (49). Phonetic effect seems to have been the object of the changes in the following sentence:

" . . . Le (*jeune*) fils Tobie est d'une beauté svelte et pure avec des attaches fines et des élégances qui conviennent mieux à un jeune (*héros*) dieu grec qu'à (*un jeune*) l'héritier d'un patriarche israélite . . ." (50).

The question of accentuation, however, is more strictly applicable to the order of the words in a given sentence, and here again it is found that Gautier is not definite, from the beginning of his composition, as to the means of attaining a desired auditory effect. This is shown in the manuscripts of his travels, for example, where transpositions of phrases, for phonetic reasons, are not infrequent. "La perspective est terminée par une galerie-portique à colonnes de marbre, à jets d'eau, comme le patio de Myrtes de l'Alhambra . . ." becomes: "La perspective est terminée par une galerie-portique à jets d'eau, à colonnes de marbre, comme le patio des Myrtes de l'Alhambra . . .", and the rhythm of the sentence is no longer broken (51). A more complex re-working for the proper accentuation of an expression appears in the following sentence from *Cherbourg*:

"Faut-il voir dans ces devises (*que le platonique imite de Pétrarque, si fort à la mode encore en province*) lieux communs de la galanterie du seizième siècle, concetti à la Pétrarque fort de mode encore en province, voir des allusions à une passion coupable et contre nature? . . ." (52).

The author is not sure, from the outset, of the proper accentuation within the individual piece.

Gautier's difficulty here has been noted by his critics, and they point out his lack of attention to the sonorous qualities of his work, as well as certain definite faults of rhythm in his poems. Alex. Weill wrote to him, on the appearance of "L'Art":

"Votre réponse à Banville est un joyau royal. Vous n'avez rien fait de si parachévé, de si fouillé, de si complet de fond et de forme.

"Le dernier vers 'tant que le monde ait fin' n'est peut-être pas assez euphonique, assez français, mais c'est la veine du marbre. Il faut le laisser . . ." (53).

The same predominance of sculptural over musical merit is noted by Desplaces:

". . . Ce dont je blâme le poète-feuilletoniste, c'est d'avoir, en quelques circonstances, taillé son vers dans le roc même, ou plutôt d'y avoir entassé, comme des blocs de marbres, des mots et des sons dont la voix et l'oreille s'effraient également. On voit bien que les passions littéraires sont mortes depuis une douzaine d'années; autrement les risées qui poursuivaient *les Rayons jaunes* ou la *Ballade à la lune* auraient-elles fait silence devant *le Thermodon* et surtout devant *Qui sera roi?* Les excentricités de 1828 étaient bien innocentes comparées au langage que tiennent tour à tour Béhémoth et l'oiseau Rock. Est-il

bien permis de contraindre, sans nul remords, d'infortunées syllables à s'entre-choquer de la sorte et à produire un pareil vacarme? Il est de telles strophes qui, lues à voix haute, feraient croire au roulement d'un sac plein de noix . . ." (54).

The actual number of syllables in the alexandrine was sometimes at fault in the work of the young Gautier, and apparently his feeling for rhythm did not keep him from such errors as Lovenjoul notes in one of the unpublished variants of "Elégie IV": "Quelle âme, sœur de la tienne, enlacé quelques fils."

"Ce vers contient treize syllables, et il est écrit ainsi d'une façon absolument nette sur l'autographe de l'auteur; nous le conservons donc comme une curieuse exception de négligence dans l'œuvre poétique de Théophile Gautier; il est hors de doute, du reste, qu'il eût corrigé ce vers s'il l'eût publié, et l'édition imprimée d'*Elégie* n'en garde pas trace" (55).

A similar inadvertence is recalled by O'Realy in his note on *Th. Gautier et la strophe LXV d'Albertus*, where the numerals 36 were printed in the first edition of the poem as equivalent to only two syllables, and omitted entirely by Gautier in the reworking of the line and the substitution of other words for the later editions (56). The same type of error occurred also in "Thébaïde," where one of the lines substituted in the original edition of the *Comédie de la Mort* for a couplet of the first version of this poem (published originally in the *Charte de 1830*, of May 1, 1837), read as follows: "Et comme en un linceul, sans y laisser un seul pli," and was corrected to the proper number of syllables by the omission of the word *seul* in later editions.

Although rhythm and accentuation thus, may not have been of primary importance to Gautier, although he experienced difficulty in their proper handling, he felt that the adaption of poetic structure to musical forms was possible for him, and indeed a desirable end in the composition of his verses. At the beginning of 1841 he wrote to François Bazin, sending him his "Soupir du Roi maure" in two forms, with and without a refrain, and asking him to choose between them and also to let him know if he had any especial musical idea to which the poem might be adapted. "Si vous préféreriez le récitatif sans un couplet, pour faire du tout une romance, c'est faisable" (57). Several years before he had sent Bureau two versions of another piece from

which he might choose the more favourable for a musical setting, and in this instance had expressed his reasons for thinking the poem possible as a song :

"Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait là rien qui accroche, il y a un point au quatrième vers et une suspension au septième, exactement observée dans tous les couplets. La strophe doit être assez longue comme cela . . ." (58).

The unpublished manuscript poem of *Josué arrêtant le soleil*, which Gautier was writing for the music of Meyerbeer, shows the poet at work on such a piece: the rhythmic effect was carefully considered and its attainment facilitated by various devices and notations of quantity :

- | | | |
|---|---|------------|
| 1 | les chars / d'airain / couraient / et fauchaient / la mêlée / | élidée par |
| 2 | et les grands / éléphants / soufflant / des jets / de feu | la voyelle |
| 3 | clairons / géants / dressaient / leur trompe / déroulée | qui com- |
| 4 | Israël / combattait / sous les / regards / de Dieu | mence le |
| | | vers sui- |
| | | vant |
| | soleil de grace / attends / encore | |
| | ne souffle pas / sur ton / flambeau | |
| | que ton coucher / soit une aurore | |
| | renais plus clair / renais plus beau. . ." | |

The piece was forwarded to Maurice Schlésinger, for Meyerbeer, with the following remarks :

"Je vous envoie ces vers à peine ébauchés comme *monstre* ou *patron*. J'ai marqué le rythme et les quantités. Si cette forme vous convient je tâcherai d'ajuster des vers un peu mieux tournés que ceux-ci sur les longueurs que je vous envoie. Si toute autre mesure vous agréait davantage, faites-le-moi savoir. J'ai mis une grande rigueur de symétrie dans ces lignes et si elles ne valent rien encore comme poésie je les crois favorables à la musique . . ." (59).

In 1831 Gautier had been humble in regard to the qualities of his poetry, asking Tremblay to choose for himself between two versions of a poem which he offered (60); in 1856, in spite of his practice in the writing of poems for musical settings, the author was still doubtful of the sonorous effect of his lines, and in spite of the technical perfection which he had, meanwhile, felt himself

capable of attaining, the actual musical quality of his poetry remained uncertain to his mind:

"Je suis très flatté de la pensée que vous avez eue de faire réciter mes vers au théâtre du *Gymnase* par Mme. Montigny. Je regrette seulement de les avoir faits pour être lus plutôt qu'entendus, mais je ne doute pas que le talent de Mme. Montigny ne surmonte la petite difficulté du Rythme . . ." (61).

Among the manuscripts of *Emaux et Camées*, also, there are various pieces which show Gautier's hesitation in regard to rhythmic form. In the "Etude des mains," for example, the author was not certain as to the order in which the two parts should be presented, and wrote certain lines which permitted the "Lacénnaire" to become the first half of the poem, instead of the second as in the definitive version. It may also be noted from the manuscript that in the beginning the second stanza of this part of the poem was the last, and that, on being struck out there, it was inserted between the original stanzas one and two (62). Other poems show a fluctuation between different rhyme-schemes. In one of the earliest, "*La Tête de Mort*," Lovenjoul calls attention to the change in scheme between the manuscript version of 1828 (?) and the published piece (*abbacddc* instead of *aabbccdd*, etc.) The ideas in the two pieces are identical, and the development, after the first few verses, follows the same course, but with the different rhyme-schemes, the rhymes themselves have been frequently changed (63). Some twenty years later, a similar hesitation is shown in the development of "*Modes et Chiffons*," where the manuscript fragments show three metrical forms for this sonnet, with verses of eight, ten and twelve syllables (64). For many of the pieces of *España* Gautier also seemed in doubt as to the most suitable poetic form. In the manuscripts of these poems which have been preserved, there are a great number of corrections, and while the idea of each piece seems well defined and the general progression of its parts is fixed from the start, there are various trials of metre, and the evidence of research for poetic form abounds. There is noted down an assemblage of rhymes, of half-lines, of expressions and phrases, which seem to please Gautier and which he seeks to incorporate in his piece. Great attention is paid to the rhythmic effects, and there is a diffi-

culty apparent in the handling of rhythms somewhat out of the ordinary—in the imitations of the Spanish, for example. Gautier has recourse to a notation of the number and quantity of the syllables, of the number of feet, etc. One folio is covered with variations on four lines, with an actual remarking of the metrical differences (65). In his poem of “*Les Matelots*,” which Gautier was apparently composing to be set to music, the same difficulties reappear; there is here again a page of variants, metrical and musical, with notation of quantities, alternation of the various lines, transpositions of the words within the single lines, etc. As in “*Josué*,” he divides his lines into measures, and marks the quantities, but he also adds in some cases the indication of the musical note on which each syllable is to be sung, and to facilitate him in this labour—in a transposition of the musical script into the ordered nomenclature of these notes—he sets down at the head of his version a verbal transcription of the musical scale: *ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la, si*—and with this before him proceeds to the musical analysis of a verse which he has already studied from a metrical point of view:

ut mi sol si la sol
 “ Dans le ciel / les étoiles
 mi ré ut la sol la
 ouvrant / leurs beaux / yeux d’or
 mi ré ut la sol fa
 nous font voir si les voiles
 prendrent bientôt l’essor. . . .
 ut / la / sol fa / mi ré ”(66).

“*Les Matelots*,” in addition to information in regard to Gautier’s rhythmical difficulties, gives further data as to his process of poetic composition by its evidence of an early selection of rhyme-words and special phrases about which the piece is to be built up through a series of variants. Thus the author writes side by side the following trial-lines:

“ Les yeux d’or des étoiles
 nous font voir le chemin
 nos ailes sont des voiles ”

“ Les petites étoiles
 marquent de leur doigt d’or

“ Dans le ciel les étoiles
 entrouvrant leurs yeux d’or
 nous font voir quand les voiles
 prendront bien leur essor.
 tout couverts de leurs toiles
 lestement, blancs oiseaux
 nous volons sur les eaux ”

de quel côté les voiles
doivent prendre l'essor
et déployant nos toiles
comme de blancs oiseaux
nous effleurons les eaux "

" Dans le ciel / les étoiles
ouvrant / leurs beaux / yeux d'or
nous font voir si les voiles
prendront / bientôt l'es/sor

tout couverts de leurs toiles
ré fa ut sol mi ut
gaïment légers oiseaux
ut ré la si ut sol
rasons l'azur des eaux
sol ut mi ré/ mi ut."

There is, perhaps, no other manuscript piece which includes such a variety of effects being striven for by the author, but there are many poems for which the variants show, one by one, the same processes of composition. Thus, in the "Poème de la femme," there are nine variants of the suppressed stanza, of which eight employ the rhymes *tordue*, *mordue*, *Clésinger*, *singer* (67). Of "La Mansarde" there are five variants, four of which present the line

"De Montmartre et de ses moulins"

while the fifth gives "Par Montmartre et ses trois moulins," and the following isolated lines are noted in the margin of the folio: "Montmartre et ses moulins à vent" "Montmartre avec ses trois moulins."

The same piece gives three versions of a line with the rhyme-word *silhouette* (68). Within the poems also there is at times verbal fluctuation which is apparently the result of an attempt to find the poetic, in the adaption of words and ideas to a definite verse-ending. In "Colère," a signed, autograph copy differs from the printed version:

"Pour médire de la vertu

Qui, chauves et sans dents

Vipères à double dard

Tombeaux poudreux crépis de fard

Nourissent un feu mal éteint "

(Manuscript version).

"Pour japper après la vertu

Qui, vieilles et sans dents

Serpents armés d'un triple dard

Tombeaux badigeonnés de fard

Couvent un brasier mal éteint "

(Printed version) (69).

Diverse alternates are proposed for several of the lines of a variant of "Sainte Casilda":

mediate step between the early *brouillons* and the printed version—where the piece is not given in its entirety, where the partial manuscript is much corrected and reworked, where the original words of the author are at times wholly effaced by the numerous superpositions which are necessary before an acceptable form is arrived at (73).

It is interesting, in this connection, to compare the appearance of the manuscripts of Gautier's prose compositions with those of his poetry. The notable facility which he had in writing prose may be expected to manifest itself in the original versions, and this is the case: here the manuscripts—the *brouillons*, for autograph copies of a corrected piece are lacking except for certain fragments of the earliest short-stories (later Gautier's prose went direct from the writing-table to the printer, to fill his weekly *feuilletons*)—present a very different aspect from the working-copies of his poems. Certain manuscripts of the *Voyages* may be taken as examples. Of the *Voyage en Espagne*, which was written in the actual course of Gautier's travels, various chapters exist in autograph. The corrections are very few in number when compared to those of the poems written at the same period. They may be divided into three classes, (1) changes which show verbal preoccupation: grammatical corrections or improvements; corrections of phrases from a conversational to a more literary tone (“ . . . vraiment un très bel effet . . .” becomes “ . . . un effet riche et majestueux . . .”, etc.); corrections which work for more exactitude and clarity of expression; (2) changes in accentuation, in the euphonic composition of the sentence or paragraph; and (3) fluctuations in expression when the idea to be expressed is an abstract one of which the author does not, himself, seem very sure (*cf.* p. 210, where the reflections on progress, on the use of clothing, etc., seem to entail a hesitation in expression which is linked to the philosophical *Aufgabe*). The manuscript of *Ce qu'on peut voir en six jours* is similar, although here the changes in vocabulary are fewer and of less importance than the changes in order of words and the corrections for euphony (74). In the *Vacances du lundi* there are still fewer

changes, and they all work in the same direction as those of earlier travels; in general they appear to have been almost instantaneous (to judge from the sequence of the sentences, from the grammatical evidence of agreement of adjectives, etc.) One paragraph of this manuscript, however, has undergone a great amount of correction. It is found at the beginning of the chapter on Mont Cervin (75), and deals with the construction of Latin verse. Technical description of poetic form seems to offer, to Gautier, difficulties comparable to those found in the composition of corresponding verses. The manuscripts extant of the author's short stories and novels are less great in total volume, but their testimony also confirms the processes of composition noted from the *Voyages*, so that, in *Spirite* (76), Gautier has attained to a sureness of touch equivalent to that of the *Vacances du lundi*. The *Critique dramatique* (77), of which examples extend from 1837 to 1872, demonstrates the same verbal facility: here there are very few corrections, above all in the later years, and such as are found seem of little importance and consist of a very small number of verbal improvements, changes in order, etc. There is nothing which is not present more abundantly in other literary composition—in the *Voyages*, for example, where the author's preoccupation with style was greater (as for an original work) and where the actual writing was, in consequence, more carefully done. In the *Critique dramatique*, indeed, as in the yearly *Salons*, Gautier was working on material which was practically identical from year to year, where the end was simple: a narration or a description, with little necessity for comment or criticism, or for original developments. Here habit could strengthen enormously the author's initial facility, and the result of his skill and ease is visible in the manuscripts of these critical studies which, in their first draught, show almost absolute conformity to the printed version.

An inquiry into Gautier's process of literary composition is not complete without some indication of the relation between his prose and verse compositions. In his notice on "Marine (Jettature), fragment d'un poème inédit," Lovenjoul writes:

"C'était du reste l'habitude de Théophile Gautier, s'il faut en croire MM. de Goncourt et leur intéressant journal . . . de commencer en vers les ouvrages qu'il finissait par écrire en prose. Pour notre part, nous connaissons deux exemples de ce fait: celui-ci, et ses vers sur la Péri. . . Ce fragment seul fut écrit, et l'auteur renonça ensuite à son projet. C'est une des pièces auxquelles il a le plus travaillé, et nous tenons à citer ici comme preuve de notre affirmation, toutes les variantes inédites que nous en avons recueillies . . ." (78).

Gautier, according to the report of the Goncourts, had his first inspiration to write in verse, and in the end he wrote in prose; according to the variants cited by Lovenjoul for the pieces of which the versified originals remain, the labour involved in this beginning of composition was great. The facility of his prose seems here to have had a decisive influence on the type of composition in which the author ended. In some cases, however, poems were written on subjects which had already appeared in the prose writings of Gautier; there seems to have been no distinct line between the subjects which the author considered fitting for prose reporting or narration, and those which he might submit to poetical treatment. Within the two versions, nevertheless, there is possible a difference in method of development, and some of the poems are more than versifications of what Gautier had already written in prose. It is true that the prose version of "Rondalla," which appears in the dramatic *feuilleton* of April 19, 1843, is very similar to the stanzas which were incorporated later in *Militona*, but with "Magdalena" and "Le Thermodon" the process of composition is different. In the first piece, the prose version is a representation of the Magdalen of Ruben's *Descent from the Cross*, with a detailed description of the picture and the notation of the critic's very strong emotional reaction before it. The poem, which was published two years later, gives at the beginning some indication of the pictorial source, but is principally occupied with the development of the theme of Christ and the Magdalen, entering into quite another field of Gautier's reflections from that expressed in the account of the picture and in the *Toison d'or* inspired by it (79). The development of "Le Thermodon," which remains closer to the prose original, is more easily compared to it, and at the same time is equally demonstra-

tive of the differences between Gautier's imaginations in prose and poetry. It was in *La Presse* of November 6, 1836, that the author published his description of a new engraving of the "Passage du Thermodon"; the verses first appeared in 1838. The "Passage" commences by the facts in regard to the engraving, the poem by a general statement of the subject, arriving, in the ninth stanza, at the author and his personal reactions (as in the case of "Magdalena"). In the two versions there is at the beginning a transposition of the visual into the auditory, and also the remark that the bridge forms the centre and the frame of the picture. The two pieces, likewise, leave to the end of the description the notation of those portions of the engraving which Gautier considered most beautiful. The poem is more condensed and at the same time more general in its application; it omits all mention of the most horrible point in the picture, and the whole description is less precise. A generalization of the specific action is made by means of personification. The prose offers a better *picture* than the poetry, in its total effect, although the latter condenses and renders the main *ideas* more concisely. In the prose, also, there are included certain technical commentaries and explanations which interrupt the sequence of the description and yet make it more exact, more comprehensible. The planes of the picture are not given the same reproduction in the two versions; the author appears to vary his descriptive placing in order to bring out his own desired emphasis, without regard to the actual visual impression which the picture has made on him. With regard to verbal expression, there are in the prose various images which the poet had not employed: "les grains de ce chapelet," "deux grappes de chevaux et de femmes" which hang "de chaque côté du pont comme des boucles d'oreille du carnage," etc., but there are also various passages which are almost identical in expression:

"C'est toi, Rubens. . . .
 Qui joignis ses deux bouts comme un bracelet d'or,
 Et lui mis pour camée un beau groupe de femmes
 Si blanches, que le fleuve aux triomphantes lames
 S'apaise et n'ose pas les submerger encore . . ."

"Cette immense boucherie fait le tour de la toile, elle est menée hardiment et d'un seul jet, et tous les grains de ce chapelet se tiennent exactement, de

sorte qu'à six ou sept pas de distance on ne voit qu'un grand ruisseau de combattants, qui se ferme comme un bracelet par ce précieux groupe des trois femmes qui lui sert d'agraffe et de camée . . ." (80).

From these comparisons it appears that there was an advantage in precision for the prose rendering of a work of art or other visual impression; that, on the other hand (and at least in the early poetry), the versified form demanded of Gautier the inclusion in the piece of a literary development of personal or philosophical thought which, to an author interested in impersonality and plastic representation as means and end in literature, constituted a distinct disadvantage. These two points must have assisted in turning the scale in favour of a form of composition where the actual work involved was less, where the author could depend on his verbal facility with relatively little thought of the difficulties encountered in rhythmic creation, and where, indeed, the less rigid form permitted of a greater use of those various, treasured words and images upon which Gautier's method of literary creation was constituted.

1. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
2. LUNN, *Gautier and "le Roman de la Momie,"* p. 176-179.
3. Article non-signé de la "Revue littéraire" de *l'Artiste*, 1839, 2^e série, II, 12, p. 169.
4. Cf. the views of Lehtonen and Félix Frank on Gautier's use of vocabulary in the *Capitaine Fracasse*.
5. *Rabelais et Théophile Gautier*, p. 12.
6. MONTÉGUT, *Nos Morts contemporains*, II, 54.
7. *Lovenjoul* C-486-35.
8. DURAND, *Théophile Gautier* . . ., p. 804.
9. From certain *Règles de composition littéraire données par Théophile Gautier à M. Paul Dalloz*, *Lovenjoul* C-510-50.
10. Critique de la *Couronne de Bleuets* d'Arsène Houssaye, 2^e édition, p. 19.
11. "Salon de 1836", first article; *Le Cabinet de lecture*, mars 1836.
12. "Salon de 1837", *La Presse*, 1^{er} mars 1837.
13. *Paul Baudry*, in Bergerat's *Peintures décoratives* . . ., p. 5.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 87.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
17. Cf., for example, *Les Vacances du lundi*, pp. 254 and 255, with regard to the images of saints seen at each cross-road.
18. POULAIN, *Traces de l'influence allemande* . . ., p. 54.
19. *Les Vacances du lundi*, p. 227.
20. YRIARTE, *Portraits cosmopolites*, p. 65: Yriarte's example here is the names of Gautier's favourite cats.
21. *Emaux et Camées*, p. 57.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
23. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 176; *Poésies complètes*, II, 118.
24. RÉGNIER, *Portraits et Souvenirs*, chapter on Théophile Gautier and José-Maria de Hérédia, pp. 77-84; BRUNET, *Théophile Gautier, poète*.
25. *Emaux et Camées*, pp. 103, 101; LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , Nos. 1283 and 1381; *Lovenjoul* C-443-2, 3, 4.
26. Lettre à MM. Hachette et Cie., 25 novembre 1857, *Lovenjoul* C-487-119.
27. *Lovenjoul* C-466-8, 5, 3; manuscript of the *Voyage pittoresque en Algérie*.
28. *Lovenjoul* C-408-20.
29. *Lovenjoul* C-408-45.
30. *Lovenjoul* C-408.
31. *Lovenjoul* C-442-149, 150; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 15, "Etudes des mains."
32. I, *Lovenjoul* C-444-33; II, LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , No. 989; III, *Emaux et Camées*, p. 30.
33. LOVENJOUL, *Histoires des œuvres* . . . , No. 989, *Emaux et Camées*, p. 31.
34. LOVENJOUL, *Ibid.*, *Emaux et Camées*, p. 22.
35. *Lovenjoul* C-442-149, 150; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 15.
36. *Lovenjoul* C-465.
37. *Lovenjoul* C-460.
38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 91, 146ss.
39. *Loc. cit.*, *Lovenjoul* C-486-35.
40. *Lovenjoul* C-460; *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 211.
41. *Lovenjoul* C-460; *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 264.
42. *Lovenjoul* C-466-11.
43. *Lovenjoul* C-465.
44. "Salon de 1852", article 12; *Lovenjoul* C-408.
45. "Les Barbares", feuilleton de *La Presse* du 5 et du 7 septembre 1851; *Lovenjoul* C-408.
46. *Op. cit.*, 3 mars 1862, II, 14.
47. *Poésies complètes*, I, 333.
48. *Op. cit.*, scene 4, p. 129.
49. "Prix de Rome," *Lovenjoul* C-413-12.
50. *Ibid.*, *Lovenjoul* C-413-19.
51. *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 235, *Lovenjoul* C-460.
52. *Cherbourg*, V; *Lovenjoul* C-464-33.
53. *Lovenjoul* C-500-344; it may be noted that the poet did not leave this line in his definitive version of the poem.
54. DESPLACES, *Galerie des poètes vivans* . . . , p. 37.
55. LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , no. 53.
56. *La Comédie de la Mort*, édition originale, p. 109.
57. *Lovenjoul* C-486-52.
58. Cited by Lovenjoul in his *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , no. 118. Letter of December 9, 1834; *Lovenjoul* C-484-93.
59. *Lovenjoul* C-485-133.
60. *Lovenjoul* C-485-353.
61. A propos de la "Nativité", lettre à Montigny, directeur du Gymnase; *Lovenjoul* C-485-144.
62. LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , no. 1120; *Lovenjoul* C-442-149, 150; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 14.
63. *Lovenjoul* C-442-3, 4.
64. *Lovenjoul* C-442-156; the verse of ten syllables was finally chosen.
65. Cf. the "Cid vainqueur", for the stanza where the Jew speaks. This is a romance imitated from Sepúlveda. *Lovenjoul* C-442.

66. *Lovenjoul* C-442-40; Gautier's need of noting the musical scale to facilitate him in his transcription confirms Servièrès' analysis of his lack of technical knowledge in music (cf. SERVIÈRÈS, *Théophile Gautier et Ernest Reyer*). The fact that he was capable of using a technical vocabulary, (see above, § c., in regard to his comparison of light to violin *crescendos*, etc.) is not contradictory to this evidence but is rather a further indication of Gautier's mastery of words and of his *verbal* facility.
67. *Lovenjoul* C-444-28, 29, 30.
68. *Lovenjoul* C-444-89, 90, 91.
69. *Lovenjoul* C-442-9, 10.
70. *Lovenjoul* C-444-21; the autograph copy of this piece is the property of M. L. Duvanchel.
71. *Lovenjoul* C-485-132.
72. Letter to Eugène Didier, May 19, 1852; *Lovenjoul* C-490-37.
73. The pieces already cited represent only a small proportion of those manuscripts which show this difficulty of poetic composition. Even such a piece as the occasional poem of the "28 juillet 1840" has manuscript versions in very different stages of development, some almost definitive, others simply sketches of lines or verses, with numerous corrections. *V. Lovenjoul* C-442-31 to 38. Of the clear signed autographs preserved in the Collection Lovenjoul, a large number are noted as having been acquired at sales of the effects of Gautier's friends and admirers, etc.; it seems probable that many were presentation copies which in no sense represented the first draught of the poems.
74. *Lovenjoul* C-464-14 to 20.
75. *Op. cit.*, p. 243; *Lovenjoul* C-463. The paragraph in question has been reworked to such an extent that most of the first version is illegible.
76. *Lovenjoul* C-458.
77. *Lovenjoul* C-419-1 to 171.
78. LOVENJOUL, *Histoire des œuvres*, II, 395.
79. "Les Rubens de la Cathédrale d'Anvers", *La Presse*, 29 novembre 1836; "Magdalena", *Poésies complètes*, I, 289, first published in 1838. It is interesting to note in the description of the picture a phrase which seems to have its origin in Gautier's literary memories; "on dirait de l'ivoire élastique et du marbre flexible" is very close to the following lines:

". . . L'Astre du jour la prit en mesme instant
 Pour de l'Ivoire souple et du Marbre flottant . . ."

where Saint-Amant describes Pharaoh's daughter at her bath in a passage which Gautier seems to have recalled for his *Cléopâtre* also. Cf. *Moïse sauvé*, 12^e partie, p. 156.
80. "Le Thermodon", *Poésies complètes*, I, 332; "Le Passage du Thermodon", *loc. cit.*

PHASES OF THE PROCESS OF COMPOSITION

a. *The Analytic Spirit*

In a study of the general characteristics of Gautier's imaginative process, some inquiry must be made into the manner of progression, the kind of mental action, which his work betokens. Does he see and present a subject as a whole, or does he distinguish and reproduce more or less isolated parts of the general matter which he is considering? Is his single production an organic unity, a work of art, or is it a succession of comparatively unrelated traits, each possibly striking or beautiful in itself, but not necessarily contributory to a greater whole? In other words, the question is raised as to whether Gautier is analytic or synthetic in method, and as to whether his underlying mental process, his creative imagination, is to be classified in the one way or in the other. In Gautier's own time, the power of synthesis was regarded as worthy of much praise; Baudelaire's study of Eugène Delacroix selects this point as the basis for a very high appreciation of the painter's genius (1). Another contemporary critic believed that synthesis was more readily characteristic of painters than of poets:

"Le peintre qui, forcément, procède par détails, personnifierait l'analyse, et l'écrivain, qui a la liberté de procéder par grands traits caractéristiques, personnifierait la synthèse. Et cependant le peintre, qui prend l'action à son moment suprême, est en réalité plus synthétique que le poète, qui retrace successivement toutes les époques de l'action. . . . Ainsi le peintre, par des moyens analytiques atteint à la synthèse, au lieu que le poète reste dans l'analyse malgré l'emploi de moyens synthétiques" (2).

That this distinction is not absolute is easily apparent, yet it is not without interest to note that the gift of synthetic writing was recognized in two of Gautier's contemporaries, diversely preoccupied with the art of painting. Flaubert, for example, had never practised it, although his writings abound in portrayals of colour and form; not only did he employ what Houssaye considered the "moyens synthétiques," but he also remained synthetic in his finished work:

"Les œuvres de Flaubert ne sont pas des constructions de l'intelligence; ce sont des visions de l'imagination. De là vient qu'il compose au contraire par grandes esquisses d'ensemble, remaniées ensuite dans le détail, et qu'en un mot il n'applique pas une méthode d'analyse, mais une méthode de synthèse, non pas une méthode intellectualiste, mais une méthode intuitive" (3).

The critic of Fromentin as a writer draws no philosophical conclusions from his study of this painter's literary characteristics, but he is equally convinced of the synthetic quality to be found in the desert studies and in *Dominique*:

"Il avait eu pour maître le paysagiste Louis Cabat, à une époque où ce talent probe et sincère introduisait . . . une nouvelle formule d'art marquant chez lui des visées vers le style . . .

"Il faut retenir les théories que son maître, au jour qu'ils étaient au bord de la Seine, lui exposait sur la nécessité de dégager la *forme*, l'*idée typique*, et par exemple, de tirer de cette vaste perspective de rivière, où s'attachaient leurs regards, l'image, non pas d'un fleuve déterminé, mais du Fleuve en général . . .

"Si, en écrivant son roman, il ne s'est souvent attaché, comme l'a constaté Sainte-Beuve, 'qu'aux traits principaux, à ce qui frappe et à ce qu'on retient, au mouvement, au geste, à l'étincelle', c'est par application de cette doctrine. Plusieurs fois, dans la présentation de la figure de Madeleine, elle est venue imposer d'elle des résumés en quelque sorte plastiques" (4).

That Théophile Gautier cannot be included in the ranks of synthetic writers seems to be the consensus of opinion among critics during the eighty-odd years which have elapsed since the publication of *Fortunio*. It was again Sainte-Beuve, whose judgment of Fromentin is cited by Dorbec, who wrote on the occasion of the appearance of *Fortunio*:

"L'ensemble! l'effet de l'ensemble! voilà ce à quoi ne pensent pas assez nos poètes, et c'est là précisément la grande infériorité des œuvres d'aujourd'hui, même les plus brillantes, en regard des chefs-d'œuvre du passé. On a le talent, l'exécution, une riche palette aux couleurs incomparables, un orchestre aux cent bouches sonores; mais, au lieu de soumettre tous ces moyens et, si j'ose dire, tout ce merveilleux attirail à une pensée, à un sentiment sacré, harmonieux, et qui tienne l'archet d'or, on détrône l'esprit souverain, et c'est l'attirail qui mène" (5).

Lafcadio Hearn, in his essay on *Eclecticism in Literature*, quotes an eminent literary analyst who chose Gautier as typical of the *Myopes* in literature, "an illustrious example, describing with mosaic delicacy, with microscopic amplification of detail" (6). The most intensive study of Gautier as an analytical mind is

made by Brunet, however, and his considerations confirm, for the author's whole career, the judgment of the great critic of 1838:

"Un tableau de Gautier n'a généralement pas d'atmosphère. Il lui manque ce quelque chose d'impalpable qui plane sur le tout d'une vision, qui fond toutes les parties dans un sentiment commun, les lie les uns aux autres dans une vie une et totale. . . . Ce qui est vivant, ce qui est hallucinant, ce qui est conforme à la vision naturelle,—c'est l'évocation, des masses, des ensembles. Gautier n'a généralement pas cette manière de voir. Il ne perçoit pas les éléments d'un paysage dans leur continuité, ni dans leur participation à l'atmosphère d'ensemble; son œil précis, méticuleux, considère successivement une série de détails, isolant chacun d'eux de ses liaisons naturelles. . . .

"En général, on peut dire que Gautier se plaçant devant un fragment du monde extérieur le considère d'un regard *analytique*. Il détache chaque objet, chaque détail de la continuité où il est inséré et du tout qui l'enveloppe. De là, chez Gautier, des tableaux formés d'éléments très nets, très précis,—mais pas à vrai dire la *vision spécifiquement poétique*, celle qui, évoquant un objet, fait lever par suggestion, et durant le temps d'un éclair, l'ensemble complexe qui l'enveloppe . . ." (7).

One may note also the very scattering of Gautier's subject-matter as typical of his procedure within the single works. He attempts, for example, to portray anything beautiful anywhere, and takes any century, any civilization, in certain of its details, in his endeavor to render and to magnify beauty. So, in his critical works and essays, he presents diverse traits which he considers interesting—in his poetry, any small or isolated impression which shows an unusual facet of the absolute. It is left to the reader of all his works—and Gautier does not expect that such a reader will be found—to make their synthesis, to try to arrive at a complete impression of Gautier's idea of the beautiful, and to deduce from his mass of detail the generality of an ideal.

Theoretically, Gautier condemned the analytical in art. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, in his study *Autour de Balzac*, has written of a portion of *Un Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* which, according to all probability, came from the hands of Gautier, and he has pointed out this supplementary material. If these additions be considered in their relation to the rest of the younger author's work, it will be noted that two paragraphs seem to indicate a realization of the danger in which he stood, and also a possible explanation of that habit of mind which his analytical produc-

tion implied. So he writes for Balzac, in a passage which expands the art-instruction being given by the latter's hero :

"Mais, malgré de si louables efforts, je ne saurais croire que ce beau corps soit animé par le tiède souffle de la vie . . . Cette place palpite, mais cette autre est immobile! La vie et la mort luttent dans chaque *détail*. Ici c'est une femme, là une statue, plus loin un cadavre. Ta création est incomplète. Tu n'as pu souffler qu'une portion de ton âme à ton œuvre chérie. Le flambeau de Prométhée s'est éteint plus d'une fois dans tes mains, et beaucoup d'endroits de ton tableau n'ont pas été touchés par la flamme céleste.

"—Mais pourquoi, mon cher maître? . . .

"—Ah! voilà, dit le petit vieillard. Tu as flotté indécis entre les deux systèmes, entre le dessin et la couleur, entre le flegme minutieux, la raideur précise des vieux maîtres allemands, et l'ardeur éblouissante des peintres italiens . . ." (8).

In Gautier's account of his own studio years the same picture of confusion of methods is given; the young student of art knew little of the true objective of his work, much of successive and conflicting methods, and he dealt with detail to the exclusion of all unified product (9). That this same fault was to be found in most of the pictorial art of the time is the contention of Charles Clément, whose criticism, like that of Sainte-Beuve in literature, singled out the lack of unity, analysis without synthesis, as the characteristic derogation of the art of the nineteenth century from high classic standards (10). The training of the atelier may, then, have been instrumental in the formation of a habit of analysis on the part of the young Gautier, but his explanation of the difficulty in which he found himself, as given in the *Chef-d'œuvre inconnu*, is even more far-reaching, in that it implies a connection between a lifelong oscillation from painting to literature—with its consequent attempts at carrying the method of one art into the other, its transpositions, its varying emphases on plastic material and literary form—and the perpetuation and accentuation of a habit of early training with its result in analytic work of the mature writer.

That Gautier's production, as judged by his critics, was not in accordance with his own desires or ideals, is further evident from his expressions on the accomplishment of other artists. In 1837, when writing in praise of the sculptor Antonin Moine, he stated that in order to be a remarkable artist, it was not sufficient to

understand and to translate with spirit and correctness *one* face of the *art du trait* (11). So, a few years later, he, like Baudelaire, praised Eugène Delacroix for his very power of synthesis. What difference did it make if he drew well or ill, if his figures departed from the classic type or remained constant to it, if his execution was good or bad, when he had a quality which was worth all these?

"Il existe, il vit par lui-même; en un mot, il porte en lui le *microcosme*. Pardon de ce terme hétéroclite et cabalistique, mais il rend parfaitement notre pensée, c'est-à-dire un petit monde complet. Cette précieuse faculté d'une création intérieure n'appartient qu'aux organisations d'élite, et c'est le secret de la puissance que possède M. Delacroix, malgré tous ses défauts. . . . Tous n'ont pas assez de génie ou de mémoire pour coordonner leurs impressions et pour leur donner de la logique. Ils manquent d'unité par un détail inattendu, par une forme que les académies et les modèles ne donnent pas. M. Delacroix est doué au plus haut degré de ce don de s'assimiler les objets, de les colorer à son prisme, et d'en prendre juste ce qui convient à son idée" (12).

As Gautier praised the synthetic in others, so he approved all means of attaining this quality. He dreamed of the day, or rather of the heavenly age, when there should be an ideal art, the synthesis of all arts (13); in the meantime he practised a form of art, the ballet, where an approximation of this ideal was artificially brought about, where at least plastic form, colour and music were united (14). This, of course, was a synthesis other than that which he could expect in his usual production, and in literature he recommended a different method: the artificial means of formal constraint which should by its very limiting compel a certain unity of content. It was this attempt at unity which he practised in *Émaux et Camées*, with their striking richness of subject-matter condensed and unified by the restraint of the exterior form, and in others of his shorter poems and sonnets where he attains a synthetic expression. The poet, by his theoretical ideas in other arts as well as in his own, shows that he realized the value of this method.

"La forme du pendentif donné par l'architecte est bizarre, mais le peintre en a tiré le meilleur parti. Cette contrainte même semble l'avoir servi" (15).

Again, he praises the result of the sonnet-form:

"De même que, dans les plafonds, les compartiments polygones ou bizarrement contournés servent plus les peintres qu'ils ne les gênent en déterminant

l'espace où il faut encadrer et faire tenir leurs figures. Il n'est pas rare d'arriver, par le raccourci et l'ingénieux agencement des lignes, à loger un géant dans un de ces caissons étroits, et l'œuvre y gagne par sa concentration même. Ainsi une grande pensée peut se mouvoir à l'aise dans ces quatorze vers méthodiquement distribués" (16).

Indeed, when this means of poetic form was lacking, Gautier strove to attain a certain measure of unity by other literary devices, and if he did not succeed in his effort as a general rule, it was not on account of the lack of realization of the necessity for work in this direction.

"Rien n'est plus insupportable que le *moi*, et, si parfois nous l'employons, ce n'est que pour relier une phrase à une autre et parce qu'il faut bien que les tableaux successifs dont se compose un voyage aient eu d'abord un spectateur" (17).

Gautier, then, sought for an artificially-imposed unity in some of his writing; he knew the desirability of synthesis in all kinds of art, and even preached a new art which should resume all the actual varieties, but he did not attain his ideal: critics of his own time and those of the present day can point to his analytic spirit as characteristic of the movement of his mind. He is largely lacking in what Ribot, in his *Essai sur l'imagination créatrice*, described as the "esprit synthétique":

"Ce principe d'unité, organisateur, créateur est si actif en certains esprits que placés en face d'une œuvre quelconque—roman, tableau, monument, théorie scientifique . . .—en croyant l'apprécier, spontanément, ils le *refont*. Ce caractère de leur psychologie les distingue des purs critiques" (18).

It has been noted that Gautier's *atelier* training was against a synthetic turn of mind, and that the fundamental contradiction between his passion for plastic art and his literary production no doubt produced an oscillation of attention tending toward the analytic. Theoretically, then, it would seem that synthetic writing, however ideal, would not be easy for him, and this deduction is supported by the study of his manuscripts. It was found that in the prose work the writer seemed to progress much more regularly, with little hesitation over verbal expression, indeed with a marked facility. The manuscripts of his travels, of his daily *feuilletons*, even of his prose works of the imagination, showed a clarity and ease usually lacking in his poetic compositions, and the

differences in appearance—indicative of the mental habits involved in the process of composition—were especially noticeable in the case of various poems of the *Emaux et Camées* of which the manuscripts have been preserved (19). It was this work, small in total amount, which was difficult for the author, and yet in it, when accomplished, he reached his greatest degree of synthesis. Relative facility, highest economy of effort in production, would seem to enter here as a decisive factor in the determination of Gautier's general work as analytic.

1. BAUDELAIRE, *L'Art romantique*.
2. HENRY HOUSSAYE, *Les Hommes et les idées*, p. 86.
3. BESCH, *Imagination et intuition chez G. Flaubert*, p. 577.
4. DORBEC, *La Sensibilité de l'artiste dans "Dominique,"* p. 647-648.
5. SAINTE-BEUVE, *Fortunio* . . ., p. 866.
6. L. HEARN, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
7. BRUNET, *Th. Gautier poète*, p. 315-325, *passim*.
8. Cf. SP. DE LOVENJOUL, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
9. Cf. *Feuillets de l'Album d'un jeune rapin*.
10. CH. CLÉMENT.
11. *V. Fusains et Eaux-fortes*, p. 62.
12. "Salon de 1841," *Revue de Paris*, 3^e série, t. xxviii, p. 159.
13. Cf. *La Musique*, p. 262, article on Niedermeyer.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
15. *Souvenirs de théâtre* . . ., p. 294.
16. *Portraits et souvenirs littéraires*, p. 234.
17. *L'Orient*, II, 131.
18. TH. RIBOT, *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 1. H. Patch in her study of the dramatic criticism of Gautier, calls attention to his reproduction, his re-making of the plays which he offers his reader. Verbal resemblance may lead here to some confusion of thought, and it should be kept in mind that the narration, and so reproduction of a play, does not necessarily imply its synthesis in the mind of the observer, with a consequent analysis and new creation of a whole from these elements.
19. That this difficulty of process is in great measure to be expected is evident from the nature of the poems. Thus Larsson writes in a passage which may well be applied to Gautier's work:
 "Les procédés qui appartiennent à la technique de l'œuvre littéraire se laissent tous ramener au même but qui est la synthèse. Une métaphore ou une image quelconque servent précisément à saisir ensemble un nombre de représentations plus grand que celui que nous pouvons fixer par une expression plus incolore . . .
 "Le langage de la poésie est le plus concentré de tous, quelle que soit l'abondance avec laquelle il paraît semer ses mots. . . . Il peut arriver dans ce processus (d'accrétion par cristallisation) que la matière que l'auteur avait essayé à enfermer dans une longue nouvelle finit par se concentrer en une poésie de quelques vers qui, dans la richesse de sa forme, ne semble nullement faire des économies de

mots. . . . En petit comme en grand, que le domaine choisi soit une simple idylle ou l'univers entier, la poésie travaille à mettre en perspective une portion de la vie que nous ne pourrions pas sans cela embrasser d'un coup d'œil"

L'Intuition: la Logique de la poésie, p. 16-28, *passim*.

b. *Economy of effort*

The analytical spirit which pervades Gautier's production seems, then, to have been due largely to an economy of effort characteristic of a mind in which early habits of analysis had been established and perpetuated. This mind shows, in other circumstances also, evidence of its typical procedure in the expenditure of energy. There are, in the life of a writer, certain stimuli to action: social pressure—contemporary encouragement to artistic production, financial need—individual pressure—the desire for self-expression, for work toward ultimate Beauty. There is also to be considered, however, his general tendency toward economy of effort. The hindrances as well as the encouragements to action must be noted in the individual case, for the means taken to accomplish the least possible expenditure of energy consistent with attaining the desired object, and so the balancing point between economy of effort and satisfaction of impulses indicates the author's type of mental action. The characterization of his creative imagination is not complete without the data to be furnished, by his literary production, with regard to this equilibrium.

There may well be made an initial survey of the facts available in connection with the writer's general personal status in energy. The habitual, ordinary physical expenditure denotes, to a certain extent, the reserves of force on which the individual can call, and while the relation is not necessarily a direct one, yet differing habits of physiological and mental energetic expenditure may point to characteristic individual constitutions. Flaubert, for example, who during many years was a nervous invalid, could hardly be induced to walk across his garden and yet had sufficient strength to endure many hours of continuous work throughout the night—work of a most exacting character, according to the author's testimony in his *Correspondance*, and according to the

evidence of his manuscript. The expenditure of energy in this one particular direction was immense, and its significance for the understanding of his creative imagination deserves great consideration, in its implication of the force of certain tendencies which could be utilized only in such production, and in its postulation of a unitary desire, closely directed and highly energized, demanding for economy of effort a response of the kind which Flaubert gave. Without knowledge of his avoidance of other expenditure, however, without the records of his dislike of physical exercise, his desire for the tranquillity of the country, his avoidance of even amicable interruptions, etc., the concentration of all his forces toward creative work—and so an important point in the analysis of his psychology as an artist—would not be evident. So with Théophile Gautier: if he manifests great energy in the ordinary activities of his life, and little in his literary production, conclusions as to his creative imagination will be of one kind; if the conditions are reversed, the judgment will vary likewise; if, as a third case, expenditure of energy in daily life and in artistic work seems equal—and either large or small—knowledge of a different, characteristic mental action may be drawn from the findings.

It is in the preface to *Albertus* that the poet gives perhaps the first autobiographical testimony as to his physical status, his like or dislike of activity, his pleasure in quiescence. Even granted the exaggeration probable in such a truly romantic pastime as the writing of a preface, the personal feelings expressed by the young Gautier, in October, 1832, cannot be disregarded, for their indications are confirmed by other contemporary evidence. The following picture, then, has its interest:

"L'auteur du présent livre est un jeune homme frileux et maladif qui use sa vie en famille avec deux ou trois amis et à peu près autant de chats.

"Un espace de quelques pieds où il fait moins froid qu'ailleurs, c'est pour lui l'univers.—Le manteau de la cheminée est son ciel; la plaque, son horizon.

"Il n'a vu du monde que ce que l'on voit par la fenêtre, et il n'a pas eu envie d'en voir davantage. . . . Il aime mieux être assis que debout, couché qu'assis.—C'est une habitude toute prise quand la mort vient nous coucher pour toujours.—Il fait des vers pour avoir un prétexte de ne rien faire, et ne fait rien sous prétexte qu'il fait des vers. . . .

" . . . Il connaît très-bien les défauts et les taches de son livre; s'il n'a

pas évité les uns et enlevé les autres, c'est qu'ils sont tellement inhérents à sa nature, qu'il ne saurait exister sans eux; du moins c'est l'excuse qu'il donne à sa paresse" (1).

The more serious autobiographical evidence is of the same nature; at the time of *Hernani*, the poet says, he was barely eighteen years old, frail and delicate, and during the years before that he had had to be removed from the Collège Louis-le-Grand:

" . . . Je mourais de froid, d'ennui et d'isolement entre ces grands murs tristes . . . Quant à la nourriture du réfectoire, mon estomac ne pouvait la supporter; je dépérissais si visiblement, que le proviseur s'en alarma: j'étais là-dedans comme une hirondelle prise qui ne veut plus manger et meurt . . ." (2).

A certificate of the doctor, Jean-Baptiste Vidal, as excuse from military service, bears out this memory (3), and perhaps these various sources of evidence as to little physical strength or energy in his young manhood—however suspect each alone might be—receive a final confirmation from iconographic material. Henri Boucher, in his consideration of the differences to be found in Gautier's appearance according to the series of portraits extant, and relying upon the testimony of Gérard de Nerval in the *Bohème Galante*, dates the poet's transformation from thinness, melancholy, languor, to an aspect of physical robustness a little earlier than the military certificate would warrant, but there seems no doubt that Gautier's general status of strength had changed before 1840 (4). So, again in his memoirs, he writes that toward 1839 his physique was much modified, "à la suite d'exercices gymnastiques. De délicat j'étais devenu très-vigoureux. J'admirais les athlètes et les boxeurs par-dessus tous les mortels . . ." (5). This physical transformation—taking place at a time when the author was withdrawing more and more from original work and becoming wholly absorbed in journalistic activity; when, according to his well-known letter to Sainte-Beuve, he was deserting his ideal of the "vert laurier"—held good during many years, and, indeed, Gautier's newly found strength became a matter of pride to its possessor. The *Entretiens* between Bergerat and his master and Fournier's *Souvenirs poétiques* give the same evidence on this point:

"Gautier, l'hercule, qui dans ce beau temps (du petit Cénacle) avait prouvé que son coup de poing pesait cinq cents sur la tête du Turc, était de force à suffire à tout : aux nuits de plaisir et aux journées de labeur. Il multipliait sa copie partout où l'on voulait bien lui faire accueil . . ." (6).

His health, however, seems to have continued to be one of his preoccupations, for in many of his letters and frequently, again, in his *Voyages*, he makes reference to his endurance or to his fatigue. He is exhausted after writing some of his *Salons* and drags himself along the asphalt of the Paris streets, trying to regain enough energy to go on with some other task; in this he does not always succeed, and must go to Saint-Jean to recover from too much forced work in the pleasant leisure which is offered him there. Thus he expresses himself toward 1850; even earlier, in the accounts of his travels, the supposedly indefatigable voyager and copy-writer told, in the press, of his personal reaction to the various difficulties which he met. Impersonal writing, the rendering of things seen for the benefit of his reader, was indeed his avowed object, but in the accounts of travel where he could most easily have accomplished this, it seems that his personal physical reaction was so much a part of the experience that it had to be included in the reproduction. After climbing the tower of the cathedral of Antwerp, he and Gérard de Nerval sat down to rest, and in Spain the ascent of the mountains entailed great exhaustion; seasickness, its causes and its avoidance, were the subject of much thought during the Spanish and Algerian sea-voyages; in Russia protection against cold, and an unexpected pleasure in the sensation itself—when Gautier had always thought himself responsive to great heat only—are recorded as integral parts of his experience, from a personal point of view; he is not only an onlooker noting, quite impassibly, certain characteristics of the country visited. Health, and the relation of physical facts (energetic expenditures) to daily life and necessary mental work, were lasting preoccupations for Gautier.

Although the author did not reach the abhorrence for all forms of exercise which Flaubert manifested, his writings and the memoirs of his friends testify to an overwhelming physical inertia during the last years of his life. It was with difficulty that he

could bring himself to go out; to appear in any kind of formal costume was an effort to him; he would have been content to remain quietly at Neuilly for an indefinite length of time. There is no doubt that his approaching final illness was a very large factor in this conduct; nevertheless, a kind of laziness was characteristic of him from his early days. The preface of *Albertus* applies this quality principally to his physical demeanour. Gautier himself, in his *Premières Poésies*, speaks many times of the pleasure of *far niente*, of hearthside idleness, and is very definite in his expression of a love for ease and comfort. So, again, in the "Bonne Soirée," the same attitude is continued at the epoch of *Emaux et Camées* and complete tranquillity is celebrated. Arsène Houssaye, in his preface to *La Couronne de bleuets*, gives an amusing account of his story's point of departure in 1836:

"Quelque léger que puisse paraître aujourd'hui mon roman, il me fut inspiré par une idée toute philosophique. Théophile Gautier menait, ou voulait mener la vie orientale, trouvant doux de croire au fatalisme, car cet infatigable travailleur était né paresseux. Si tout est écrit là-haut pourquoi ne pas vivre comme le poète Régnier selon 'la bonne loi naturelle'?" (7).

That his "innate laziness" extended to the accomplishment of literary work is indubitable and indeed its most interesting manifestation was made in the course of Gautier's prodigious output. The correspondence of his editors gives very complete testimony on the point, and a letter from the director to the administrator of *La Presse* indicates the difficulties suffered by his superiors:

"Je ne m'oppose nullement à ce que M. Gautier, alors qu'il sera à jour avec la Presse et qu'il ne lui devra plus rien, écrive dans le *Siècle*, le *Journal des débats*, l'*Espagne* ou tout autre journal, s'il se trouve tout à coup doué d'une fécondité qui lui a manqué depuis deux ans puisqu'il n'a jamais pu fournir à la Presse le nombre d'articles qu'il s'était engagé à lui livrer" (8).

No amount of amicable or official pressure could, apparently, keep him up to the level of which he thought himself capable or which his necessities of life required. Various means were taken to overcome this inertia; occasional recourse to the artificial stimulus of drugs, more frequent, and in later years almost constant, excitation by a frenzied environment of newspaper workers, aided Gautier in his production. He was, it may well be argued, doing much more than the ordinary man is expected to do in writing,

during the course of his life, the equivalent of some three hundred volumes of critic's articles and original work. Nevertheless, in accomplishing this he was doing more than he wished to do, his energy was not sufficient for the task without exterior driving. The poet, in his younger days frail and delicate, in maturity physically strong but not gifted with great endurance and always more or less preoccupied with matters of health, had to contend with traits of mental, as well as of physical, inertia.

Given these traits, Gautier had, nevertheless, to produce, and his creative imagination, in so far as it can be abstracted from exterior influences, is characterized by the balance which he worked out between the restraining tendency toward economy of effort and the inciting forces of his interests and desires. The impulses of his major sentiments are of moment. In accordance with the ideal of beauty around which they centred, a certain level of performance was required. Here his technical equipment enters in, and the question of the coincidence between *Aufgabe* and his especial creative talents.

It will be recalled, from the study of Gautier's sentiments, that a very large part of his tendencies was organized around an æsthetic object, and that his love of beauty was also connected with a very definite desire for its creation. This was a field of interest which had its connections with the major portion of his life, and through its organization the expenditure of his energy was necessarily directed to a very great extent; the possible responses to various stimuli to action were limited by this interior situation, and the canalization of his energy in the pursuit of art, in some form or another, was the expression naturally inherent to his hierarchy of sentiments. From their point of view, artistic creation was the most economical response he could have made to the various exciting factors of his life. It has been noted, also, that for the particular form of art which he exercised Gautier was possessed of a technical ability, a skill in the handling of words, for which there was no parallel in the field more definitely corresponding to the especial branch of art which, theoretically, met with his full approval: it was much easier for him, given his gift

of words and his lack of talent as a plastic artist or a painter, to become a writer and so to use his natural endowment, than to struggle to acquire a facility which had not been included in his original capabilities. The very fact that this decision was the one made, that literature was Gautier's line of least resistance, implies, nevertheless, that the æsthetic sentiment—paramount though it was in bringing about his general course of action: work in the arts—was *not* sufficiently organized in control of all his forces to determine fully the exterior response, to compel adherence to its ideal of action; it ceded, in point of fact, to the technical facility, and through this tacit acknowledgment of lack of power Gautier achieved his economy of effort in production.

The æsthetic sentiment then, which was organized about plastic art and bound up with a desire to create this form of beauty, was presumably not strong enough to fulfil its own end. In order to turn Gautier from a production depending largely upon the verbal facility which he possessed, it must have been able to contend successfully with his general inertia and to force him into a course which, though exacting far more effort than literary production, promised far greater satisfaction. This it could not do. The desire, indeed, could not give assurance of performance compensating the great pains which it had required. Here, in the uncertainty of the ultimate creation of beauty by devotion to the plastic arts, in a realization of an initial lack of talent and in a despair of being able to compensate for this by any amount of labour, there may possibly be found a second reason—in addition to insufficiency of total energy at the disposition of the ideal—for the derogation therefrom toward an inferior end. It will be recalled that Gautier's very definitions of beauty demanded a perfection of accomplishment in the work of plastic art which, of its nature, would materially increase the task of him who strove to create it. The ideal about which his sentiment was organized would not permit of an approximation—his talent as a painter made nothing else possible for him; the struggle was against too great odds, and a compromise—perfect performance in a less great field—may have been deliberately chosen as the best solution

of the difficulty. The fact remains, however, that Gautier's discouragement was of a very early date. Never, in the course of his life, did he go through, for the sake of plastic art, the struggles for ideal performance which a Flaubert brought to successful conclusion in the field of literature. Indeed, the view that Gautier's compromise was due rather to weakness than to conviction seems confirmed by the findings within the art finally exercised. Here again there was a certain type of writing which theoretically and ideally Gautier favored, yet of which the production was in practice limited to little more than a part of *Emaux et Camées*. It appears from all evidence of the composing process that this type of work was actually harder for the author than ordinary journalistic writing. In this case, however, the high ideal of the æsthetic sentiment, its very strict code in performance, can by no means be said to have caused, by any impossibility of attainment, the substitution of another form of creative work. Gautier *could* write as he wished; he did so only a small part of the time. The creation which was in accordance with his ideal required more effort than that which he actually accomplished the greater part of the time; the force at the disposition of his sentiments seems not to have been sufficient to dominate technical ability. The author's performance, taken as indicative of economy of effort and of equilibrium between stimulus and response, does not point to a large amount of energy at the service of his desire for creation. From this point of view, the conversation recorded by the Goncourts with regard to prose composition following upon poetic inspiration has its bearing (9). Artistically, he would have hesitated to produce in prose; practically, he was willing to abandon a poetic inspiration for an accomplishment not in accord with his ideal, but for which his original technical facility, fostered and confirmed by frequent, necessary, journalistic production, provided an economical means. Each successive yielding to this facility established it more firmly as the decisive factor in Gautier's writing; a certain ideal of good workmanship remained—though in a form far below the demand of his æsthetic ideal—but even its fulfilment was largely automatic. Proust's

analysis of the production of Elstir might be applied to the major part of Gautier's work, with the hypothesis of an insufficiency of creative energy (rather than old age) as its explanation:

"Quel repos, d'ailleurs, de poser ses lèvres sur ce Beau que jusqu'ici il fallait avec tant de peine extraire de soi, et qui maintenant mystérieusement incarné, s'offrait à lui pour une suite de communions efficaces. Elstir à cette époque n'était plus dans la première jeunesse où l'on n'attend que de la puissance de la pensée, la réalisation de son idéal. Il approchait de l'âge où l'on compte sur les satisfactions du corps pour stimuler la force de l'esprit, où la fatigue de celui-ci, en nous inclinant au matérialisme et la diminution de l'activité à la possibilité d'influences passivement reçues commencent à nous faire admettre qu'il y a peut-être bien certains corps, certains métiers, certains rythmes privilégiés, réalisant si naturellement notre idéal, que même sans génie, rien qu'en copiant le mouvement d'une épaule, la tension d'un cou, nous ferions un chef-d'œuvre, c'est l'âge où nous aimons caresser la Beauté du regard hors de nous, près de nous, dans une tapisserie, dans une belle esquisse de Titien découverte chez un brocanteur, dans une maîtresse aussi belle que l'esquisse de Titien . . ." (10).

If from Gautier's production, however, certain deductions concerning his creation, from the point of view of energy, may be justified, it must not be forgotten that this production is due to more than the balance between his directing sentiment and his technical abilities, and that into it enter various social factors which may or may not have been incorporated into his organized sentiments. The occasional response is often the answer of ability to an exterior excitation which has not necessarily become linked to the chief sentiment of the author; this sentiment itself, for its development, is largely dependent upon the circumstances through which the individual has lived. It is not here possible to study the evolution of Gautier's sentiments, nor can any definite attempt be made to ascribe certain effects to personal, others to social causes. In the consideration of his creative activity from the point of view of energy, nevertheless, some account must be taken of the direction in which social stimuli would probably move him, for any indication of their respective facilitations or hindrances is of value for the understanding of his mental action.

In his article on the *Psychology of Invention*, Royce considers the influence of civilized society on its members, and the inspiration and guidance which it can offer in the production of the new:

"It cannot produce the great genius, and it cannot make stupid people clever, but from its lesser men who are still men of real ability, it gets within limits very much the degree and the type of inventiveness that the social situation suggests. In a poetical age, poetry is invented by the second-rate poets; and some of it is very good poetry. In a scientific age, scientific discovery is the order of the day, and the men of talent are scientific inventors. . . . Only heredity can account for the very wide differences between clever men and stupid men, or explain why men of talent exist at all. But the minor and still important inventiveness of the men of talent, the men of the second grade, is somehow due to a social stimulation which sets their habits varying in different directions. And this stimulation is of the type which abounds in periods of individualism" (11).

That Gautier himself felt the force of surrounding civilization in its influence on the arts is evident from some of his early writing; in 1832 he was in despair of their very existence at a time when the individual should become less and less honoured, when social achievements and automatisms should take the place of the personal inspiration:

"Et puis la civilisation est là réglant tout, prévoyant tout, qui rend l'aventure impossible et ne laisse presque pas prise au hasard sur notre vie. Or, comment voulez-vous qu'on soit poète dans la prose, neuf à propos du vieux, étrange dans une situation banale? . . .

"Les enfants et les livres se feront à vapeur. Peut-être notre vieux monde n'en irait-il pas plus mal! Oh! malheureux peintres, malheureux poètes que nous sommes d'être nés dans ce temps où il n'y a plus ni poésie ni peinture! Nous avons beau nous frapper le front, nous pressurer l'âme, nous tordre le cœur pour en faire jaillir quelque chose, que voulez-vous que nous fassions? qui posera pour notre drame ou notre tableau? où sont les modèles, les types à produire? Mais où sont les neiges d'antan? c'était le souci de Villon" (12).

So, too, he considers himself bound by society, and dependent upon it, in his rôle as a critic:

"Ce malheureux forçat de la publicité, ce pauvre esclave, poète peut-être, condamné à tourner la meule du journal . . . donnant toujours audience aux idées des autres,—et quelles idées!—c'est bien rarement qu'il prend sa rêverie par la main et s'en va au bois avec elle. Sa propre pensée est la seule dont il ne lui soit pas permis de s'occuper" (13).

In these reflections, Gautier has been occupied principally with the negative side of social influence on the work of the artist, and his arraignment of contemporary life as destructive to originality, and of the critic's trade as restrictive to personal development, serves to indicate certain tendencies in his environment which would accentuate any inclination on his part toward imitative work

rather than toward creation. It is possible, however, to see in his surroundings stimuli of more definite character which would evidently affect his energetic equilibrium and become of appreciable influence in the determination of the balancing point between his main sentiment and his technical facility. Such, for example, is his acquaintance with Victor Hugo, at the time of *Hernani*. A little of the exaggeration of memory may enter into Gautier's estimate of the stimulus provided by this meeting, but undoubtedly there is truth in the assertion that Hugo provided a new field for the work of the young artist:

"Mon intention était d'être peintre, et j'ai travaillé trois ans dans ce but. Mais ayant connu Victor Hugo par Gérard et Pétrus Borel, je me tournai à la poésie, et je fis un petit volume qui parut le 28 juillet, 1830" (14).

The continuation of a relationship of encouragement and sympathy was granted to Gautier by his master to the very end of his life, and only a few months before his death Victor Hugo wrote to him:

"Quel maître vous êtes, cher Théophile! quelle prose de poète! quelle poésie de philosophe! Votre critique a la puissance de la création. J'aime votre noble esprit.

"Ruy Blas salue le Capitaine Fracasse. . . . Je veux vous remercier, cher grand poète, par mon plus tendre serrement de main" (15).

In Gautier's production, the influence of less illustrious comrades can hardly be estimated; a complete review of his school years with Gérard de Nerval, of association with him and other representatives of the spirit of 1830 in the rue da Doyenné, etc., would be necessary in order to determine the specific value of these friendships to the poet's literary work. Their amicable interest was undoubtedly of the greatest importance to him, and their association and interchange of ideas contributed enormously to the formation of his principal tendencies. As individual encouragements to certain types of work, however, it would seem that the influences suggested were incorporated into the organization of Gautier's sentiments, rather than that they acted without and in addition to these directors of his energy. The main currents of thought among the artist's young contemporaries may also be noted for their strength-giving support, or for some occasional

basic influence in the sentiments of the individual. So, the romantic tendency toward scorn of the *bourgeois*, the aristocratic attitude maintained in defiance of external events, etc., would facilitate the formation of Gautier's own undemocratic feelings, and would indeed lead to an exclusiveness in ideal, in aim, with which his development of a superior sense of beauty is quite consonant. This encouragement, like that of his friendships, should not be considered as providing great stimulus aside from its influence on the growth of the sentiments. On the contrary, Gautier's pliability to *bourgeois* demands, his deference to the literary requirements of the day, imply a conflict of forces in which his individuality was at times vanquished, from the "qu'en dira-t-on" which, according to Feydeau, decided him to cut off the long, carefully curled hair of his early portraits (16), to more serious charges, against *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, for example, which accentuated his derogation to innocuous "plastic" literature.

A positive connection with the current of the times is to be found in Gautier's inclination toward pictorial literature, toward everything which might bring the arts of painting and writing into closer contact. In so far as theory is concerned, the transposition of arts to be found in his environs provided a stimulus to action important for its part in the development of the young author's artistic ideals. For his actual performance, contemporary practice of a similar kind is significant in its destruction of Gautier's claim for unique production (and from this point of view the facts must be considered with other evidences of "plasticity"). It is likewise of great interest from the standpoint of economy of effort, for by this production of his fellow-artists there is offered to Gautier actual stimulus in certain directions: through the facilitation given by a model to be imitated, and through the aid offered by the guidance of others, by the opportunity of checking his production with theirs. Thus it is of interest to find in contemporary pictorial art attempts at a fusion of literature and painting. It is evident that Gautier decries the tendency to depend upon literature for more than the inspiration to paint, and insists, in his criticisms of Ary Scheffer's stories in

colour, upon the integrity of the picture. This does not prevent him, however, from trying in literature to attain the end, as well as the means, of painting, and another's obvious practice of attempts at transposition was a facilitation, in his own field, of a similar essay (17). Even within the domain of literature a comparable groundwork for imitation was early within his reach. In the *Jeunes-France* of 1833, Gautier had already given a recipe for writing the romantic novel. This formula is adopted, again, by Théophile de Ferrières a couple of years later, but with the inclusion of further elements which denote a popular method significant for that which the more famous author was to practice:

"Vous vous enfermez à la bibliothèque; vous regardez, comme les enfans, des images, des cathédrales, des forêts, des vaisseaux, des portraits, des paysages, des costumes; vous copiez soigneusement les explications des planches . . ." (18).

The procedure is not limited to the novel, but is applied in even greater detail to the book of poetry. It is not surprising to find Gautier easily writing "paysages", describing paintings and places, etc., when as early as 1836 his literary rival had already, from general practice, worked out the following rules:

"Recette B. Pour faire un livre de poésie:

"Vous disposez une suite de cadres dans le dernier goût, tels que; j'aime à voir, ou bien je ne hais rien tant; ou bien avez-vous vu; ou bien, l'Espagne; ou bien, Venise; ou bien, l'Orient (19). Vous broyez du noir et du blanc, du jaune et du rose, du vert et du bleu. Vous choisissez des rimes riches et nouvelles, grise et brise, blonds et longs, dalles et sandales, vitre et pupitre; des mots élégans, jour, cristal, lumière, soleil; vous mêlez tout cela, vous jetez tout cela sur la toile, dans un cadre, au hasard, en vous gardant bien d'avoir une idée; vous servez au public, si vous trouvez un libraire, et vous voilà poète et citoyen de notre cité" (*ibid.*).

Royce, in his article on invention already mentioned, gave three hypotheses as to the manner in which surrounding civilization acted upon the individual to produce new matter: (1) by an increase in the variability of individual habits, (2) by an increase in the selective and self-critical inhibition of existent variations, and (3) by a combination of the first two methods (20). It has been noted that the period in which Gautier wrote had certain influences upon him, both negatively and positively. These, from

Royce's point of view, would be the equivalents of stimuli to invention, and in so far as they are individual and not incorporated in the author's system of sentiments, they must be accounted additional directors of energy and facilitations of certain kinds of writing on his part. The period in which Gautier lived was, on the whole, from the point of view of the artist, one of individuality, and the whole romantic trend was toward the development of the individual. So it was with the aristocratic milieu, with the *cénacles'* desires to be differentiated from the ordinary populace. There was a tremendous amount of poetry being written, and the command to differ was therefore more difficult of execution. On the other hand, there was offered by this very fact a richness of material from which it was possible to draw the elements of a new artistic combination.

Gautier's literary practice, indeed, shows exterior modifications of the equilibrium between sentiment and technical ability—differing emphases which, now, work with his ideals, and shift the balancing-point of economical production toward their accomplishment—which, again, work in opposition to them and incline the scales toward further dependence on technique. His literary production, resultant of specific exterior and interior forces, and characteristic of his individual mental habits, should be considered directly from the standpoint of its evidences for economy of effort.

1. Preface to *Albertus, Poésies complètes*, I, 3-4.

2. *Portraits contemporains*, p. 8, p. 5.

3. ". . . M. Pierre Jules Théophile Gautier, demeurant place Royale No. 8, est atteint depuis plusieurs années d'une gastrite chronique des plus intenses et des plus opiniâtres, qui le force à suivre un régime des plus sévères, et à user des précautions les plus minutieuses dans sa conduite. " Cette maladie pour laquelle il reçoit mes soins, le met dans l'impossibilité de vaquer à ses occupations habituelles et de quitter l'appartement" 3 septembre, 1833; *Lovenjou* C-503-9.

4. BOUCHER, *Iconographie générale* . . . , pp. 4-5.

5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 11.

6. FOURNIER, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

7. HOUSSAYE, *op. cit.*, édition of 1880, p. 7.

8. Letter from Emile de Girardin to M. Rouy, 3 novembre 1846; *Lovenjou* C-469-49.

9. *Journal des Goncourt*, 12 mai 1857; I, 184.

10. MARCEL PROUST, *A l'Ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, II, 137.

11. ROYCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

12. "De l'originalité en France," 14 juin 1832; *Fusains et Eaux-fortes*, pp. 13-14.
13. Fragment inédit de 1841, cité par Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , I, 226.
14. Lettre à M. Armand Baschet, 27 octobre 1851, citée par Sp. de Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, I, xxiii; cf. BRUNET, *op. cit.*, p. 290:
 "Bien significative aussi la ferveur de Gautier de 1830! Il venait à la poésie dans un enthousiaste élan. Et cette mentalité ne lui était pas particulière. Tous ces jeunes gens de 1830 croyaient vivre en l'une de ces époques privilégiées où l'adorable visage de la beauté semble se dévoiler soudain. . . . Tous vivaient le vertige de l'explorateur qui aborde une terre inconnue. Cette terre nouvelle, frisonnante et rayonnante, ils l'appelaient Poésie. Ils se grisaient de traduire par des mots la magie des formes et des couleurs du monde visible; ils se grisaient du pouvoir conquis par l'individu de chanter ses extases et ses détresses et de laisser vibrer sous les doigts de l'émotion le plus intime, le plus secret de lui-même. C'était une fièvre créatrice inouïe."
15. Lovenjoul C-495-308; lettre du 1^{er} mars (1872).
16. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs*, p. 75.
17. Cf. the well-known passage from the *Histoire du romantisme*:
 "On lisait beaucoup alors dans les ateliers. Les rapins aimaient les lettres, et leur éducation spéciale les mettant en rapport familial avec la nature, les rendait plus propres à sentir les images et les couleurs de la poésie nouvelle. Habités à leur libre langage entremêlé de termes techniques, le mot propre n'avait rien pour eux de choquant . . ."
 Cited by L. Larguier, *Th. Gautier*, p. 15.
18. DE FERRIÈRES, *Il Vivere*, p. 55.
19. Cf. Gautier in regard to this inspiration as a social product: "*Les Orientales* de Victor Hugo et la conquête d'Alger avaient jeté, en 1830 dans tous les esprits une préoccupation singulière: On était tout étonné d'apprendre que l'Afrique et l'Asie existaient autrement qu'à l'état de petits linéaments jaunes et rouges tracés sur les mappemondes. Jamais l'Orient n'avait été représenté dans aucune peinture; cette nature était comme non-avenue, et dans les sujets bibliques l'Orient n'était symbolisé que par un plumet de palmiers fabuleux. . . . Les étincelantes descriptions du poète qui, sans y avoir jamais mis le pied, avait vu l'Orient de cet œil intérieur qui franchit les temps et les distances, les récits des officiers et des soldats revenus d'Afrique, firent naître chez quelques artistes le désir d'aller là-bas dessiner toutes ces merveilles." "*Salon de 1844*", *La Presse*, 2 avril 1844.
20. *Loc. cit.*, p. 143:
 ". . . In consequence, the social situation of the sort prevalent in an individualistic community involves altogether three kinds of motive. First, by calling upon an individual to do the unlike under the definite stimulation of closely observed models, the individual habits are set to varying. . . . In the second place, the very stimulation that puts one on one's mettle, and calls out the unlike renders one more keenly critical, more rigidly selective of one's own variations than one would be if left to one's self. And, finally, the fact that the social stimuli are already those which result from pretty highly organized social conditions assures the possibility of important combinations of the new and the old, such as occasionally appear even in our miniature experiments. And these may involve increased inventiveness. . . ."

c. *Economy of effort and production.*

In what way, then, does Gautier's literary production denote his equilibrium of energy; what evidences of the balancing-point between technical ability and theoretical standards, what indication of divergence from his ordinary, personally determined balance on account of extraneous and unabsorbed social stimuli, may be found in it? One of the first points to be noted in the consideration of these questions is that of his usual type of work, of his choice between the creative and the imitative. During the study of Gautier's sentiments in action on his work—in the choice of atmosphere, personages, themes, etc.—and, again, from the investigation of his method of work—inception, documentation, actual composition—it became clear that the author did not strive above all for originality and that his main interest lay in the perfection of existing bits of beauty, through more finished form, through proper isolation and accentuation of the striking trait. His general objective in literary work seems not to have been *creation* in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather a perfection of imitation in which the incidental creative factors were not prized as such, but were valued almost wholly for their contribution to an ideal rendering. If Gautier's work were to be judged according to his own distinctions of *genre*, it seems clear that the major portion of even the non-critical work would fall into the category of the "copy":

"Une peinture originale a dans l'aspect quelque chose de libre et de franc, de négligé et de savant à la fois, que n'a pas une copie, si bien faite qu'elle soit. Dans le tableau original on voit que l'idée partait de la tête du peintre, et venait de son cerveau à sa main sans passer par ses yeux. . . . Tout se ressent de la présence de l'esprit créateur, et en même temps de l'imitation immédiate de la nature: un original remue, une copie est immobile . . ." (1).

This tendency toward a work of imitation rather than of creation has been found to be in accord, to a certain extent, with his artistic opinions, with his interest in the beautiful rather than in the new, and his indifference to originality in material—granted formal accomplishment—is evident from the time of his interest in the *Grotesques*. The actual part of imitation in his work, however, seems to be greater than even this expression of theory would

lead one to anticipate, and its presence in the author's compositions points to a certain individual status of energy which is of importance for the understanding of Gautier's æsthetic sentiment and at the same time is indicative of his mental procedure.

According to the theory of Groos (2), imitation is an autonomous factor in artistic creation; there is in man a certain desire to imitate which may find its expression through the work of art. This desire to imitate is linked, by another student of the psychology of æsthetics, to two general impulses: to the desire for action, and to the desire for all possible economy of effort. Müller-Freienfels sees in the background of all artistic creation the expression of a general impulse to activity, but he feels that the particular form of this activity—the very general imitation which is found in art—is due to a further factor in the artist's make-up:

“Muss man nicht annehmen, dass die Bindung ans Objekt als äusserer Zwang empfunden wird? Wird nicht in freien Formen sich der Tätigkeitsdrang noch mehr seinem Wesen nach auswirken, reiner ‘Ausdruck’ sein können? Gewiss werden wir auch solchen Formen begegnen. In der Hauptsache jedoch ist die Nachahmung diejenige Form der Tätigkeit im Bilden, die *am wenigsten geistige Anstrengung erfordert*. Es ist die weitaus bequemste Art des Bildens, einfach etwas nachzuzeichnen. . . . Die Abweichungen von der Natur entstehen meist nur durch Ungenauigkeit im Sehen oder Bilden, und frei erfundene Formen gibt es fast nirgends, sondern beinahe überall lassen sich auch in den eigenartigsten Bildungen die Muster erkennen, die nur starke Abweichungen aus den verschiedensten Gründen erlebt haben. Immer aber wird man den Grund für das rein ästhetische nachahmerische Bilden darin zu suchen haben, dass die Nachahmung die ökonomischste Form der bildenden Tätigkeit war” (3).

If this analysis of the psychological basis for artistic imitation is correct, then Gautier's use of this method in literature, the evidence of imitation rather than creation in his work, is indicative of his type of mind from the point of view of the energy at his disposal. Not only has the formation of his æsthetic sentiment been such as to permit a certain amount of imitation, in material, without conflict with its exigencies. The general development of this sentiment, also—with those components which required the original, which favored real creation—was not, it seems, in command of sufficient energy to bring up the balance of supply and expenditure, and to place it on such a level that imitation, the

most elementary form of artistic economy of effort, became unnecessary. "Für das Kunstschaffen kommt das Prinzip des kleinsten Kraftmasses vor allem als Grund der Nachahmung in Betracht" (4). Théophile Gautier, then, made use of the most economical form of literary production.

The especial directions which this principle of economy took in the author's work—his specific imitations and his inclination before certain kinds of social pressure modifying the energetic balance—give further insight into his processes of literary composition. If the study of Gautier's choice of atmosphere, theme, personage, form, be recalled, it will become evident that a factor of economy played its part in their determination. In the exotic, for example, it is clear that a certain constituent of the æsthetically agreeable is presented through the very nature of the literary atmosphere: the production is, by this choice of atmosphere, removed from the preoccupations of daily life, it is lifted from ordinary pleasantness to become a stimulus to specifically æsthetic enjoyment, and its quality of *artistic* merit is more readily arrived at from the fact that it is, *sui generis*, already "distanced" (5). His choice of classic beauty as an ideal and as a working standard again demonstrates a part of the author's economy of effort—the type of æsthetic appreciation basic to his production and so characteristic of his mind. Müller-Freienfels distinguishes here two psychological principles fundamental to a choice of forms and lines: *Reine Anschauung* and *Einfühlung* (6). In the first he sees a reduction of *motifs* to the greatest possible unity and simplicity, with a repetition of their selection resulting in a simultaneity of conception and an impression of repose characteristic of classic art and its symmetrical arrangement. The second, on the other hand, has as its distinguishing character multiplicity: with discursive apperception and emphasis on motor experiences—with an underlying striving for ideal confusion, intoxication. The Gothic is, then, its natural expression in the field of art. It is interesting, in this connection, to recall Gautier's avoidance of the mediæval from the beginning of his literary career and his lifelong devotion to Greek ideals of beauty, his continual attempts

at the portrayal of the plastic beauty of the classical ages. The delights of intoxication did not interest him, a confusion and mingling of activities for the sake of their intrinsic pleasure he did not try to attain. Enjoyment of the repose in classic art far outweighed the agreeable stimulus of motor activity. With its economy of effort, this choice of the classic is characteristic of him on account of its very passivity. The author, who avoided all unnecessary physical exercise, preferred a type of artistic work where the emphasis was laid upon contemplation rather than upon action.

In connection with the choice of theme—plot and hero, etc.—the consideration of evident economies of effort adds little to the understanding of Gautier's mental processes already gained. It is not, however, entirely negligible, in that it confirms conclusions reached in other ways and emphasizes the author's use of imitation as an artistic method and his dependence on social stimuli for impulsion in certain directions for which his organized sentiments did not furnish unique, and all-powerful, guidance. So it may be noted that the heroes of Gautier's tales follow, for the most part, either his own characteristics or those of his friends and contemporaries; they are imitations, and at the same time often incarnations of certain types of economy of effort characteristic of Gautier himself. One finds in his early poetry, for example, the young man, self or non-self, devoted to simple domestic joys, satisfied with a restricted circle where his social place is already satisfactorily established. There is to be considered the pose of his heroes, those young men who are badly understood in society. Their real existence lies in an inner solitude or, like Fortunio, they build for themselves an artificial environment which shall isolate them and give them the superiority desired by all men, but ordinarily gained only by a great expenditure of energy in the struggle for social domination. The hero whose character is based on the author offers, moreover, a still further economy to his historian: Albertus, d'Albert, Fortunio, etc., are simple projections of the author himself, and are furnished with personalities for which no research is required. His own, or a part of his

own, sentiments are ascribed to them and brought into action according to the imagined circumstances; there is no effort of invention necessary. Gautier's difficulty in the imagination and development of other types was evident from his comments on the creation of personages in the times of Cleopatra and Moses. That this finding was psychologically just, and that his use of contemporary material represented a real economy of effort, would appear from the analyses of the processes of character-creation made by Binet and Passy. They describe three typical states in the working out of literary personages. In the first of these the author simply attributes to his characters ideas and emotions which are his own, exteriorizing in a way his individual manner of feeling; in the third, which is rare, there is a true separation of personalities: the author is one person, his character another, with apparent autonomy and complete independence from him who is creating it. It is the second state which, though frequent, presumes a relatively great energetic expenditure for its accomplishment:

"Le second cas représente comme une esquisse de dédoublement mental; il consiste en ceci: l'auteur cherche à s'incarner dans le personnage qu'il imagine, il se met dans sa peau, dans sa situation, il essaie de se donner les impressions que ce personnage éprouverait, s'il était réel; en un mot, il fait un effort pour se métamorphoser, pour oublier sa personnalité propre, sa personnalité d'auteur. M. Lemaître nous dit par exemple que ce travail d'incarnation est pénible et fatigant. . . . En même temps que se fait ce travail d'imagination, l'auteur reste critique; il se surveille, il s'analyse, il discute . . ." (7).

Gautier's choice of themes, on the other hand, shows his economy of effort in another way. There is here, as in the case of personages, a direct imitation of that which is offered by his environment and a consequent use of the material which can be assimilated most readily: contemporary events in the world of literature and of art are made use of by the author, his themes draw inspiration from current interests (8). The fact is that, while Gautier's themes and even the whole atmosphere of some of his works correspond to requirements of the times, by their very coincidence in this particular they leave the author more free in other directions. Thus he may, in the development of these themes, in his choice of form, of imagery, etc., follow his own

desires, and incorporate his artistic predilections in works which are still, by their subject matter and perhaps in spite of their treatment, acceptable to the general public. It is true that the choice of China for the scene of a short story did not conflict with the writer's convictions as to a proper setting; his conception of the exotic was sufficiently broad to justify this selection. His own interest in the Far East, however, was not overwhelming at any time, and it is noteworthy that his writings on the subject coincide with a *popular* preoccupation. Thus, by writing of China, Gautier could, without violence to his artistic theories, produce something saleable, interesting to his readers, and yet capable of acting as a vehicle for some of his ideas of beauty. The combination here, as in *Mademoiselle Dafné*, as in even the *Roman de la Momie*, was an economical one for the writer who had to take into account, in his balance of energy, social pressure as well as the inspiration of the sentiments and the facilitations of special technique (9).

The impassible rendering of beauty, through the use of certain literary *genres*, has its relation also to Gautier's economy of effort, and with it must be linked, in some cases, the author's choice of the plastic as his predominating atmosphere. The two points may perhaps be considered together in their revelation, from the energetic point of view, of his type of mind. An avoidance of personal conflicts, a choice of literary theme which permits of impassive representation, imply a relative freedom from the expenditure of effort entailed by all emotional display. Gautier could economize his energy in so far as he remained the *impassible*. Moreover, the plastic *genre* was that best suited to impersonal treatment and, in addition, contemporary interests indicated the plastic as a desirable attribute of literary production. Rosenthal describes the large part played by pictorial allusion and discussion, by description of works of art, in the literary circles of which Gautier formed a part (10). Incorporation of similar elements in his own work, then, would require no effort in order to make them acceptable to the reading public. Indeed, these very

elements were preferable, from the social point of view, to other possible ingredients of his composition:

"Je puis ajouter que Fortunio est le dernier ouvrage où j'aie librement exprimé ma pensée véritable; à partir de là l'invasion du *cant* et la nécessité de me soumettre aux convenances des journaux m'a jeté dans la description purement physique; je n'ai plus énoncé de doctrine et j'ai gardé mon idée secrète" (11).

It is this same social pressure which Feydeau cites as one of Gautier's reasons for devotion to plastic literature. He mentions, moreover, a second cause which, given a knowledge of the author's technical ability, seems very applicable to the conditions in which he found himself:

" . . . La seconde cause, c'est que, avec mon procédé, étant pourvu de bons yeux pour voir, et ayant un talent suffisant pour décrire ce que je vois, je suis certain de ne jamais imprimer des bêtises. . . . Comment pourrais-je savoir ce que pensent les Turcs, puisque nous ne parlons pas la même langue; qu'ils vivent renfermés, sont méfiants, cachotiers, et tiennent soigneusement les Européens à distance?" (12).

Economy of effort, thus, from two directions, inclined him to the plastic content, and the possibility of an especially adequate form was here an additional inducement. Gautier chose, for his work of predilection, the form of the short poem or that of the tale; if the *Émaux et Camées* are characteristic of one phase of his composition, *Une Nuit de Cléopâtre* expresses his talent in another way which is quite as typical of him. Even the *Roman de la Momie* can be divided into two parts which are almost independent and of which neither attains the proportions of a novel, while his longest production, *le Capitaine Fracasse*, is a succession of slightly-connected scenes, each with its plastic possibilities and with no implication of unity of effect such as is to be found in the works of a great novelist. It is just such pieces which are most easily and effectively united with the plastic ideal, through the very reduction and constraint of proportion characteristic of the art of the painter or the sculptor, and through the absence of any necessity for a theory or an idea which should subjugate and hold in check the portrayal of the visible (13). The production of such art, however, has certain implications as to energetic expenditure, and it is these which are of present interest. In the choice

of form, for example, the short piece, and that work which depends for interest on the inclusion of a certain number of picturesque details, require less of the author in the way of sustained effort toward unity than do such forms as the epic or the novel. There is no elaboration of a total conception of Beauty required; details, without synthesis, may follow one upon the other in separate works, and the total upbuilding of the product will be left to others. Long-continued efforts of attention and enormous expenditures of the will—on whatever psychological processes these be based—are avoided to a very large extent in the short plastic work, and the writer gains through it an economy of effort, *provided* that his ideal, the product of his sentiments and commander of his energies, is capable of fulfilment by literary work of this kind. With Gautier, this shifting from subject to subject seems characteristic; it has been noted that the quantity of his separate productions is very great, and his many projects, his many unfinished works, will be recalled. The short, plastic piece furnished him with a type of accomplishment characteristic of his balance of energy.

The plastic atmosphere and the form which draws upon plastic art have still other implications of value in the definition of Gautier's mental process. In the first it is possible to see an additional evidence of his use of imitation as a method, combined with the exploitation of certain facilities of perception and expression. The reproduction of a work of art in another medium necessarily presupposes the existence of the original work; it is before the writer in one form or another, and its imitation will, according to the principles of Müller-Freienfels, be more economical than the creation of a new work, literary in *genre*, yet capable of a plastic figuration. The provision of a model has facilitated the production of a work of art. With regard to plastic form, it should be noted that in painting and sculpture it is the impression of ease in combination with beauty which charms the technician in Gautier. For this reason he praises the work of Pradier, and in its analysis decides that the employment of natural gifts has been the main determinant of the effect produced:

"Jamais statuaire grec n'a caressé plus amoureuxment les contours d'un corps de déesse que Pradier, le poète de la beauté, le roi de la forme! Il pétrit le carrare, le paros et le pentélique à son gré; tout ce que peuvent rêver la fantaisie heureuse, la volupté délicate, il l'exécute comme en se jouant.—Point d'effort, point de travail apparent; chaque année apporte une œuvre nouvelle dont le sujet, toujours varié, est pourtant toujours le même: la beauté!—C'est à dire une femme nue!

"Ce que nous admirons dans M. Pradier, c'est l'abondance tranquille, la facilité limpide de sa manière; tous les ans il arrive sans hâte et sans effort avec trois ou quatre morceaux importants en marbre ou en bronze, d'une exécution achevée, d'un fini merveilleux, et pourtant il ne se cloître pas dans un travail morose et farouche, il vit en homme de monde, rend et reçoit des visites.—Cet heureux résultat vient de ce que M. Pradier n'a pas faussé sa nature, et marche dans sa véritable voie, il s'abandonne à ce qui le charme, ne se préoccupe d'aucun système philosophique et croit avoir fait assez quand il a modelé une torse ou un dos avec la moiteur de la chair, le grain de l'épiderme et le frémissement de la vie . . ." (14).

The use of natural facility, then, is the road to a true expression of beauty; for Gautier, therefore, the development of his original technical gifts of language will lead him most closely, and at the same time most easily, to the incorporation of his ideal, which is plastic beauty.

According to his æsthetic standard, there resides in form and in technique an integral part of complete beauty, for beauty is not such until it is rendered *perfectly*. For this perfection of form, however, technical skill is a prerequisite; the giving of a perfect form to each phase of beauty must be possible. The research of means to attain this perfection will lead, then, to various experiments, accomplished with more or less ease according to the gifts of the artist. For Gautier, the exploitation of verbal talent in the service of plastic art, and in so far as possible according to plastic form, will be most successful. If this talent can be sufficiently developed, however, if it arrive, through imitation, through assimilation of diverse elements, through purely technical exercise, at a perfection of form, will not its possessor be justified in assuming that there is a perfection of beauty in this form itself, and that it necessarily expresses, indeed replaces, a part of his ideal? Thus, with a verbal endowment such as Gautier had, and with the initial idea of applying it to plastic art, it will not be strange that he should arrive at a conviction of attaining the beautiful by the exercise of his talent, by technical

form, quite as surely as by the searching out of ideas and the formulation of theories of beauty.

This method, moreover, will have the great advantage of economy of effort, for the very facility of the means, given an equivalent final value, will determine its choice. The choice of plastic art to be expressed in words, by a form as nearly plastic as possible, implies then, in the author who makes it, no necessarily great amount of energy at the service of his desire for plastic creation, but rather a comparatively great verbal facility and the possibility of substitution—through a process of self-justification no doubt largely dependent on this very facility—of ideal attainment in one line for that in another. Montégut's analysis of Gautier's accomplishments seems, from the point of view of energetic equilibrium, to be a just one:

"Chose curieuse, ce talent, que beaucoup regardent comme un produit de l'art et du travail, me frappe au contraire par ses qualités naïves. Gautier est tel que la nature l'a formé, et l'art ne lui a rien donné, si ce n'est le don d'exprimer sa pensée avec une sûreté et une correction admirables. Docilement il a obéi à sa nature, sans lui proposer de buts ambitieux ou l'engager dans de fausses directions, par suite de quelques-uns de ces malencontreux partis pris de la volonté, qui sont si fréquents chez les artistes. Il a fait ce que cet instinct, dont les conseils sont toujours infaillibles, l'invitait à faire: il s'est adonné aux genres qui s'accordaient naturellement avec la forme de son esprit, la poésie de dilettantisme et de fantaisie, les descriptions de voyage, les caprices et les contes de courte haleine, la critique d'art. Il n'a pas cherché, et même il ne semble pas avoir désiré les facultés qu'il n'avait pas. Aussi toutes ses qualités portent-elles cette marque du tempérament que nous appelons naïve" (15).

1. "Des originaux et des copies", dans le *Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire*, I, 16.
2. KARL GROOS, "Die Anfänge der Kunst und die Theorie Darwins" in *Beiträge zur Aesthetik*, I.
3. MÜLLER-FREIENFELS, *Psychologie der Kunst*, II, 124.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 123.
5. Cf. BULLOUGH, *The Relations of Æsthetics to Psychology*, on "distance" as an æsthetic factor.
6. MÜLLER-FREIENFELS, article on the *Psychologie der Kunst*, p. 294.
7. BINET ET PASSY, *Auteurs dramatiques*, p. 116.
8. Cf. as noted above, the correspondence between Heine's interests and Gautier's, the use of Victor Hugo's material, etc.
9. That exterior pressure was at times an even greater factor in the equilibrium can be noted from Judith Gautier's account of the composition of the *Capitaine Fracasse*, for which the editor Charpentier demanded a happy ending. "Enfin il suppliait l'auteur de revenir sur sa décision et

de renoncer à un dénouement qui désolait les âmes sensibles. . . .” There was then stormy deliberation in the Gautier household, with the younger, more romantic members taking part for the lugubrious ending which Gautier himself preferred, while the serious-minded persons, on the contrary, considered that *bourgeois* opinion was of great importance and that success was the real object of a book. Charpentier returned to the charge, and finally the consoling, happy ending was decided upon. “Ce ne fut pas sans un peu de mélancolie que mon père nous annonça sa décision, bien qu’il ne doutât pas que cette fin-là ne devint sous sa plume aussi belle que l’autre dans un genre différent: il se disait un peu honteux de s’être laissé influencer. . . .” Preface to the edition in the “Librairie des bibliophiles,” 1884, pp. iii-iv.

10. ROSENTHAL, *La Peinture sous la monarchie de juillet*.
11. Letter to Sainte-Beuve of November, 1863, cited by Sp. de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres* . . . , I, 106.
12. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs*, pp. 141, 143.
13. The question of the essential plasticity of Gautier’s achievement is not involved here; in it must be considered many factors from his whole composition, and no decision can be reached on the subject before such consideration is made. That Gautier planned, however, to reproduce plastic art in literature, and tried to do this through formal means, is undoubted.
14. “Salon de 1846”, *La Presse*, 8 avril 1846.
15. MONTÉGUT, *Nos Morts contemporains*, II, 18.

THE QUESTION OF PLASTICITY

Théophile Gautier, who was a literary theorist as well as a writer, who had occupied himself with art criticism and also with painting, who, from the time of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* onward, had analyzed his own position in regard to the combination of literature and plastic art in both theory and practice, came to the conclusion that he himself was more plastic than literary:

“ . . . Balzac préférait de beaucoup, à la Vénus de Milo, une Parisienne élégante, fine, coquette, moulée dans son long cachemire. . . . Cela a bien son charme, quoique, pour notre goût, nous aimions davantage la Vénus de Milo; mais cela tient à ce que, *par suite d’une première éducation et d’un sens particulier, nous sommes plus plastique que littéraire*” (1).

In this statement the author speaks of his preferences and not necessarily of his production, although he advances this judgment of himself as the explanation of his literary interest in the antique beauty rather than in modern civilizations. By his critics, however, from Feydeau to such recent writers as Küchler and Luitz, the distinction made by Gautier has been applied in particular to his actual accomplishment in literature, and has been made the

basis for many affirmations as to his creative imagination. It is an interesting question, and one of great importance for the definition of his mental habits: how far was Gautier *plastic*, to what extent did plasticity characterize him and his work? (2). Where did his particular imagination differ from that of the ordinary *literary* artist? Not until some conclusion is reached here will it be possible to discover the bearing of this "première éducation," of this "sens particulier," on the formation of his talent, for the talent itself must first be defined, and this is the question of Gautier's creative imagination.

In attempting to answer it, a confusion of thought is easily made: Gautier's love for the plastic arts and his preoccupation with them has been taken to mean a plastic *literature*; the orientation of his interests toward the plastic has been considered the equivalent of a plastic method in his own writing. It is claimed that he is the exact transposition of the plastic artist into another field of creation: that because his tastes are those of the plastic artist, his method of creation, even though resulting in written work, is not literary, but plastic. This assumption does not seem justified *a priori*. It is very possible that a man whose ideal accomplishment is at the end of one line of work should actually exercise himself in another. The monk, who can imagine nothing higher than a mystical, direct communion with God, may find himself forced, by his own limitations or by the rules of the order, to devote himself to the most prosaic of good works, in which he exhausts himself and where, even though he may have occasional recourse to spiritual exercise, he labours with his hands to alleviate a purely physical suffering. His *method* for the attainment of sanctity, for the furtherance of the kingdom of God, differs wholly from his ideal, from the inclination of his temperament; he is not a mystic, though he should like to be one; the result of his life is a record of good works and not a chapter in divine revelation. There is no doubt that Gautier's ideal was plastic art, that in it he saw the nearest approximation to absolute Beauty. He himself did not accomplish this form of art, but he wished to make his substitute therefor, literature, as nearly equivalent to

it as possible, and by preoccupation, by desire, it may be said that his literature was indeed plastic. It does not follow, however, that his method was of necessity equally plastic, and an investigation of the means by which he worked must be undertaken in order to come to some decision as to whether he was really plastic in his activity, or whether he was perhaps, in spite of all dicta, more literary than plastic. The plasticity of his desires may be admitted, the essential plasticity of his method requires further consideration.

According to Luitz, "die Fähigkeit der scharfen Beobachtung (in Gautier) hat sich mit der Fähigkeit, das Geschaute scharf wiederzugeben, gepaart" (3), and he quotes Sainte-Beuve's record of Gautier's words to support this assertion:

" . . . On m'appelle souvent un fantaisiste, me disait-il un jour, et pourtant, toute ma vie, je n'ai fait que m'appliquer à bien voir, à bien regarder la nature, à la dessiner, à la rendre, à la peindre, si je pouvais, telle que je l'ai vue . . ." (4).

Luitz continues:

"Aber da, wie Walter Küchler in seinem schon erwähnten Aufsatz sich ausdrückt, 'der malerische Instinkt bei ihm bedeutet stärker war, als die malerische Fähigkeit, die technische Geschicklichkeit,' machte er im Atelier von Rioult wenig Fortschritte, und er hat dieses bald verlassen; dass er nun Dichter wurde, ist nur eine äusserliche Veränderung. Er hat nur die Mittel, mit denen er sich äusserte, vertauscht. Der Grund blieb derselbe, der Sinn für die sichtbaren Formen der Welt. Diese gab er nun, statt mit Farben und Linien, mit Worten wieder. . . ."

Gautier himself was not wholly convinced of the possibility of success in this exchange of expressive medium, for to him it seemed that "Chaque art a ses moyens et ses limites":

"Malgré l'*ut pictura poesis* d'Horace, la peinture et la poésie n'ont rien de commun entre elles; c'est cette malheureuse préoccupation de poésie en musique et en peinture, qui a fait de nous si long-temps les dilettante et les connaisseurs les plus ridicules du monde" (5).

The means and the limits of the literary art of Gautier, however, are, in so far as possible to be made to coincide with those of the plastic art; to this objective his growing conviction of the worth of the latter leads him. Thus his deviation from the highest possible correspondence will indicate here to what extent the "malerische Fähigkeit, die technische Geschicklichkeit," lack-

ing in his actual painting, were also absent from his whole creative imagination.

So the question arises as to what is plasticity in literature. Its criteria are ill defined, and still less well applied. Some have been noted and utilized by literary critics—in the case of Gautier, especially by Luitz and Küchler, although these authors have occupied themselves with plastic intent rather more than with plastic method. Others have remained largely the property of theoretical æstheticians. There is, moreover, no assurance that since the time of Lessing there have been discovered all *possible* means of creating a plastic literature, of using the plastic capacities of words and their combinations. Such criteria as have been distinguished need not be discussed here in and for themselves; it is in their application to Gautier's method that they are now of interest, and their own definition is made more clear by his example.

The first point where the criteria of plasticity may be applied is, perhaps, that of the choice of subject-matter, of "idea," at the basis of his individual compositions. The distinction between the plastic and the literary idea continues to be a moot point in æsthetics. Gautier, nevertheless, had come to certain conclusions in regard to it when he was still at the beginning of his career as a critic of art, and his own criterion of plasticity in this case may justly be applied to his production.

" . . . Dieu le sait, il n'y a rien de plus opposé sur la terre et au ciel que les vrais principes de la composition pittoresque et ceux de la composition poétique. . . .

"Avant tout il faut à la peinture des bras, des jambes, de grands airs de tête, . . . des torses à étudier, des armes, des étoffes à plis larges et puissants, une architecture de haut style, des fonds de paysages d'un caractère grandiose. Il faut du nu et des draperies, plus de nu que de draperies, plus de draperies que de vêtements et d'armure; c'est une vérité qu'on ne saurait trop dire.

"Tout sujet où ces choses ne se rencontrent pas est fort bon à faire une ballade ou un chapitre de roman, mais ne vaut rien pour un tableau. . . .

"On fait une déplorable confusion et transposition de mots. Une idée en peinture n'a pas le moindre rapport avec une idée en littérature. Une main emmanchée d'une certaine façon, les doigts écartés ou rapprochés dans un certain style, un jet de plis, une courbure de tête, un contour atténué ou renflé, un mariage de couleurs, une coiffure d'une bizarrerie élégante, un reflet piquant,

une lumière inattendue, un contraste de natures entre différents groupes, forment ce qu'on appelle une idée en peinture" (6).

If this definition of Gautier's is applied to his own written composition, it seems fairly evident that there are certain coincidences between his theory of pictorial ideas and his own literary practice. The type of subject which he has selected as suitable for representation in art is that which he has made use of for his writings, and in them *are* those things whose absence denotes the literary; rich stuffs, bright colors, polished forms, etc., make up the substance of his compositions.

" . . . Des séries entières de pièces, celles par exemple qu'il intitule *Paysages et Intérieurs*, sont exécutées non pas comme des poèmes où se développe une action, où s'analyse un sentiment, mais comme de véritables tableaux où les divers objets se rangent, simultanément, à leurs plans divers, dans un parti pris de lumière, pour éveiller une sensation de joie physique bien plus qu'une émotion de l'ordre intellectuel ou moral" (7).

The limited subject, the individual perfected trait, are sought and very frequently found by him, and on them his literary method is often constituted. To them he is willing to sacrifice, to a large extent, the originality and the variety which, in his theory, he exacts of truly literary work. The "pictorial idea" is characteristic of a large portion of his writing, and in this, always assuming that the author is correct in his initial distinctions between the arts, his creative imagination seems plastic. He is at least justified in claiming that, on the basis of his choice of subject-matter, of *idea*, he is often more plastic than literary.

In his study of the *Capitaine Fracasse*, Lehtonen finds that there was in Gautier a tendency, comparable to that of the painters of his generation, to make of his production the means for setting before the public a great number of "ideas." These were not only the plastic ideas which have been noted, however, but they included the truly literary, the verbal, as well as the pictorial and visual:

" . . . Il a fait de son dernier grand roman un véritable déversoir pour tout ce qu'il avait lu d'ancien et de moderne, un des plus curieux recueils de locutions rares et étranges, de types calqués sur ceux des vieux romans, de descriptions les plus prolixes et les plus inattendues. . . . Il refaisait exactement l'œuvre des peintres d'histoire de 1830, qui entassaient aussi dans leurs tableaux tout un musée d'ethnographie, le plus souvent sans aucune critique et sans aucune vraisemblance . . ." (8).

If it be granted that, according to his idea of plasticity in subject-matter, Gautier was frequently plastic in his method of choice of idea or subjects, the next question to be answered is whether in the development of his works his general choice of words and images is also plastic. Lehtonen seems to imply that Gautier's preoccupation here was more extended than plasticity alone would warrant, and from the whole study of his process of composition, at a far earlier date than the *Capitaine Fracasse*, it is evident that he did not limit himself to plastic means for the upbuilding of his pieces. The matter must be considered in detail and a balance taken between various positive pieces of testimony for a plasticity of method which have been pointed out in this connection, and the arguments to be advanced, on the grounds of vocabulary and development, against the designation of plasticity as the predominant method of the author.

In considering Gautier's literary composition, Kùchler and Luitz have judged the process to be plastic for three principal reasons: (1) the use of pictorial allusion and comparison; (2) the transposition of nature into terms of art; and (3) the frequent use of words of form and colour in descriptions and comparisons. The first of these criteria seems hardly decisive for *method* of composition; although it is without doubt indicative of Gautier's interests, it may quite as well be the product of a verbal habit, induced largely by his reading and by the theory of literature which surrounded him, as an evidence of plastic imagination. One of the contemporary critics of the *Capitaine Fracasse* pointed out the possible distinction to be made between a real plasticity of thought and a verbal habit which indulged itself in the piling up of picturesque detail as proof of its versatility and facility:

" . . . Le matérialisme littéraire de M. Gautier est bien connu, et il s'en ferait gloire plutôt qu'il ne s'en défendrait. . . .

" M. Gautier s'est mépris, il s'est refusé une belle part dans la littérature contemporaine en abusant de sa plume au détriment de son esprit. . . .

" . . . L'auteur du *Capitaine Fracasse* ne va-t-il pas au hasard, faisant la chasse aux descriptions comme un antiquaire fait la chasse aux vieilleseries? . . .

" . . . Le vrai genre picaresque est fertile en ressources prises dans le vif de la réalité; le monde picaresque de M. Gautier est habillé d'un luxe d'images et d'épithètes qui étonne, mais l'auteur, au lieu de chercher dans la réalité une

veine nouvelle d'observation bouffonne, se borne à reproduire les types du *Roman comique* . . ." (9).

It seems possible, then, to see in Gautier's introduction of plastic allusion and metaphor a verbal habit, a method of *literary* development, rather than a *true* evidence of plastic imagination. This view is confirmed by a comparison of his process of composition with the general practice of the years during which his habits of thought were being formed. Rosenthal, in his study of French painting from the romantic movement to realism, and again in his article on *la Peinture sous la monarchie de juillet*, finds that the pictorial allusion, the introduction of painters, their works, their views, their very vocabulary, was very frequent in the literature of the time.

"Dans le roman, les artistes interviennent souvent comme héros ou comme personnages épisodiques. Le *Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* de Balzac . . . est demeuré seul parmi une série d'ouvrages oubliés où des peintres célèbres jouaient le premier rôle. . . .

"Les monographies ou 'physiologies' auxquelles s'est amusée cette époque, n'ont garde d'oublier l'artiste, le rapin, les séances de l'atelier. . . .

"Même quand ils ne mettent pas d'artistes en scène, les écrivains évoquent volontiers le souvenir d'artistes ou d'œuvres d'art. Balzac introduit une dissertation sur Raphaël dans la *Cousine Bette*, sur Michel-Ange dans *Honorine*, et une étude sur Decamps dans *l'Interdiction*. Eugène Sue ne croit pas effaroucher les lecteurs des *Mystères de Paris* en évoquant les noms de Greuze, de Watteau, de Boucher, de Michel-Ange, et 'les pinceaux de Callot, de Rembrandt et de Goya'. . . .

"Même disposition chez les poètes. . . . Victor Hugo évoquant Albert Dürer (1837) fait dans les *Voix intérieures* de la véritable critique artistique; Alfred de Musset espère rencontrer

Quelque alerte beauté de l'école flamande,
Une ronde fillette échappée à Teniers,

et Leconte de Lisle, dans la période où il tâtonne encore, célèbre en vers médiocres Raphaël, Michel-Ange, Masaccio, et Corrège. Auguste Barbier, enfin, consacre un des poèmes du *Pianto* à une admirable étude sur le Campo Santo . . ." (10).

Gautier, in following the literary trend of his age, was, then, no more plastic than these other authors who made use of the pictorial allusion, the language of the *ateliers*, the plastic hero. It is difficult to feel that this particular practice was much more than a literary fad of the time having its origin in the whole attitude of the romanticism of 1830, and leading to a verbal habit rather than to a characteristically plastic process of thought.

There is not here a true criterion for Gautier's plasticity of creation.

The further question arises, however, as to whether the translation of nature into terms of art constitutes an evidence of plasticity of thought on the part of the author, or whether this, like pictorial allusion and images, is simply the result of a *verbal* habit, without significance for an essential plasticity of *process*. Gautier's presentation of nature in terms of art has been considered one of the proofs of his individuality, of his special talent, and Küchler and Luitz cite many instances of such transpositions in outlook. Here again, the author of the "Paysages" is not unique in his time; Musset amuses himself with such verbal play, Joseph Delorme presents various peaceful landscapes:

" Oh ! que la plaine est triste autour du boulevard !

C'est au premier coup d'œil une morne étendue,

Sans couleur ! çà et là quelque maison perdue,

Murs frêles, pignons blancs en tuiles recouverts ;

Une haie à l'entour en buissons jadis verts ;

Et loin, sur les coteaux, au-dessus des villages,

De longs bois couronnés de leurs derniers feuillages . . ." (11).

He shows to the child-dreamer the different kinds of nature which will appear to him, " toi poète, toujours, . . . tu vivras à rêver sur l'éternel tableau . . ." (12); in his "Promenade," he reviews the characteristic landscapes of the great poets of his time, and then describes the picture of nature as he sees it (13). From this unanimity of representation, it would seem possible to argue that, here again, Gautier and his fellows were simply yielding to the current of their time in dealing with nature in this particular way. On the other hand, it must be recalled that they lived in the midst of artists, that several of them had had years of training in painters' *ateliers* and had been taught to see in nature certain artistic values which they then noted in their reproduction, pictorial or literary. In any presentation of nature as wholly *beautiful*, moreover, there is implied, to at least some extent, the attitude and the manner of thought of the plastic artist. A feeling for the *beauty* of nature necessitates the separation of its loveliness from its qualities of utility, from its possi-

bilities of consolation, etc., and its consideration from a purely æsthetic point of view. This Gautier and his contemporaries were in the habit of doing, Gautier perhaps more constantly and more thoroughly than the other literary artists who surrounded him. He presented this side of nature almost exclusively in his work (it is only in the early poetry that nature the consoler appears, for example), and here his process of literary composition may be judged plastic, or at least artistic. If this be granted as a criterion of plasticity, however, it becomes necessary to admit the same trait of imagination in many other writers who have not been rated as plastic but who have, nevertheless, regarded and reproduced the beauty of nature as such. For Gautier, then, this type of composition may become an indication of plasticity but not a differentiation of his particular type of creative imagination; such plasticity is easily shared.

A more exclusive characteristic of Gautier's writing is his use of a vocabulary of colour and form, and this, to his critics, has become the great criterion of plasticity.

" . . . En ce qui regarde Théophile Gautier . . ., on ne saurait nier qu'il n'ait été poursuivi par la préoccupation plastique jusque dans ses œuvres de style, et qu'il n'ait souvent combiné des teintes et des nuances plutôt qu'assemblé des mots. . . . Il recherche 'les épithètes moulées sur nature, les tours abondants et larges, les phrases à riches draperies, où l'on sent le nu sous l'étoffe, les muscles sous la pourpre' . . ." (14).

Abundant evidence for this type of work has already been presented in the study of Gautier's process of composition, but it was noted at the same time that the use of a vocabulary of colour and form was not the author's only method of literary development; that his habits included transposition of scenes to sound, or to motion, or even to perfume; that not only the visual and pictorial was recorded, but also the emotional effect of an impression; that pictorial and visual metaphors were general rather than particular, calling upon the readers' verbal concept rather than on definite plastic imagery. Gautier's method here was by no means wholly plastic (15).

Even in so far as he made use of words of colour or form it is not self-evident that the author's imagination was more plastic

than literary. Here again it must be recalled that his *desire* was for the reproduction of the visual impression, for the transposition into words of the plastic beauty which he had perceived; his *process* remains more doubtful. It has been noted that Gautier himself hesitated to affirm a real equivalence present, or even possible, between the plastic impressions which he received and his rendering of them in written form, and it is a question whether his mind worked spontaneously in the noting of correspondences or whether he made conscious use of ordinary and extraordinary verbal powers—wealth of vocabulary, facility of literary construction, etc.—with dependence on words and phraseology as such, for his literary effects. Apparently there was at times a fairly direct association between the perceptions of his different senses, and a real equivalence of impression may possibly have been at the basis of some of his transpositions. Thus, in his article on Ingres's *Source*, Gautier quotes the following lines:

"Lorsque la jeune fille à la source voisine
A sous les nénuphars lavé ses bras poudreux"

and explains them as a real "correspondance" of sensation:

"Ces vers d'Alfred de Musset voltigeaient sur nos lèvres tandis que nous regardions, muet et ravi, cette admirable peinture. Ce n'est une ressemblance que nous voulons signaler mais une impression analogue: dans la poésie et dans le tableau, il y a quelque chose de frais comme l'eau de source et l'on sent le froid baiser du bain sur ce charmant corps de vierge" (16).

Musset's lines are a true expression of the picture, and as such they render more exactly than any words of form and colour the impression made on Gautier the artist (17). In a letter written during the same year, the author again shows a feeling of "correspondance" between the literary and the visual. He is going over, with his editor, the proper form for a new edition of *Emaux et Camées*, and complains that the colour of the pages as suggested is unsuitable:

"P.S. L'en-tête de la page 9 des *Odes Funambulesques* me semble très convenable comme ton; c'est tendre et léger. Celui de la page 18 est aussi très bien; il serait bon de rester dans cette gamme.

"Le caractère me semble aussi bien gras et bien lourd pour l'étendue de la page; il faudrait quelque chose de plus svelte, de plus mignon, de plus délicat. Un tel caractère ne peut exprimer que des idées graves, lourdes, sérieuses,—de la prose scientifique" (18).

Here again a like expressive quality of verbal and visual forms is noted. Ten years earlier Gautier had been searching for just such equivalences of sensations, and had, to his pleasure, found them in the dreams of haschich. Balzac, whom Gautier had taken to the Hôtel Pimodan in December, 1845, resisted the drug; "du moins, je n'ai éprouvé aucun des phénomènes dont on m'avait parlé" (19). Gautier spoke of these strange sensations many times, in his *feuilletons* for *La Presse*, in his chapters of *La Croix de Berny*, in the *Club des Hachichins*, and emphasized in his accounts the transpositions of taste, colour, sound, etc., which enlarged so greatly his range of experiences. In 1843 he wrote: "Ma vue s'était prodigieusement développée, j'entendais le bruit des couleurs. Des sons verts, rouges, bleus, jaunes m'arrivaient par ondes parfaitement distinctes" (20). In 1846 he noted also various unusual sensations:

" . . . J'avais, pour ma part, éprouvé une transposition complète du goût. L'eau que je buvais me semblait avoir la saveur du vin le plus exquis, la viande se changeait dans ma bouche en framboise, et réciproquement. . . .

" Mes voisins commençaient même paraître un peu originaux. . . . Leurs figures se nuançaient de teintes surnaturelles. . . .

" . . . De sourdes chaleurs me parcouraient les membres, et la folie, . . . atteignait et quittait ma cervelle, qu'elle finit par envahir tout à fait. L'hallucination, cet hôte étrange, s'était installée chez moi . . . " (21).

This is fairly slight evidence on which to judge that all, or even some, of Gautier's transpositions in literature were based on a real equivalence of sensation which he had experienced, and that the sequence of words which he composed actually represented for him, by a direct and necessary association, visual or pictorial perceptions. It is possible that Gautier proceeded plastically in those compositions where he used various verbal expressions of colour, form, etc.—that here he *felt* his words as he would feel the visual sensations for which they stood, although the evidence for any such profound equivalence is not convincing. Its value seems even less when the literary current of the times is considered and the frequency of transpositions of art between sculpture and poetry is recalled. Correspondences of sensations were sought as eagerly in the period of Gautier's first compositions as they were later by Baudelaire and even by Rimbaud.

It was in 1835 that Madame Ségalas celebrated the poets of her generation for their rivaling of plastic art:

"Vous avez de l'orgueil dans l'âme et sur le front;
Vous savez que votre art est sublime et profond.

"Brillans magiciens, comme avec un ciseau
Vous sculptez vos pensers, comme avec un pinceau
Vous posez des couleurs dont le vernis fascine,
Des couleurs d'écarlate et de pourpre! l'objet
Que vos vers ont touché s'éclaire à leur reflet;
On dirait qu'un rayon de soleil l'illumine . . ." (22).

In these same years Thoré advanced his theory of an art of perfumes which Huysmans might have followed:

" . . . Avec les parfums, on peut exprimer toute la création aussi bien qu'avec les lignes ou la couleur. Seulement la peinture et la sculpture représentent directement les objets circonscrits dans leur individualité, tandis que les parfums, comme la musique, réveillent l'intuition des choses. . . .

" . . . Je vous dis sérieusement qu'il y a un Art des parfums, une langue des parfums.

"Il s'agit de faire pour les odeurs, ce qu'on a fait pour les sons, de les hiérarchiser suivant une certaine gamme, de les classer en tons et demi-tons, et quand vous aurez déterminé les parfums en notes, vous écrirez des lettres *en parfum*, comme M. Urhan des lettres *en musique*, et vous jouerez des drames, des comédies et même des vaudevilles en parfums . . ." (23)

In 1845, at the time when Gautier was experiencing the transpositions of haschich, Alphonse Karr made correspondences between colours and abstract qualities, between colours and musical instruments, between colours and perfumes, the subject of one of the letters of *Roger*:

" . . . Il y a pour moi, attachée aux odeurs, aux couleurs, une foule d'idées mystérieuses qu'il me serait à peu près impossible de définir ou dont la définition me donnerait aux yeux de bien des gens tout l'air d'un rêveur à cervelle creuse, ou remplie de fantastiques images. . . .

"Les couleurs sont la musique des yeux: elles se combinent comme les notes, il y a sept couleurs comme il y a sept notes de musique, il y a des nuances comme il y a des demi-tons.

" . . . Les vitraux des églises gothiques et les sons sérapiques de l'orgue produisent une impression entièrement analogue; l'encens complète l'harmonie. . . .

" . . . Voici quelques-unes des impressions que je . . . reçois:

Le cramoisi.—Richesse, splendeur, faste naturel.

Le violet.—Richesse plus imposante et plus sévère, couleur noble et arrivée à l'état de mélancolie. . . .

"Il est facile de voir d'après cela combien ma vue est choquée par des discordances, mais aussi combien les splendides harmonies du soleil couchant la ravissent et la charment.

"Il y a pour moi une telle connexité entre les couleurs et les sons que je traduirais chaque couleur par un instrument.

Le vert, la harpe,
Le lilas, la flûte. . . .

"L'harmonie des sons et des couleurs n'est pas moins évidente avec les parfums.

L'écarlate, la tubéreuse,
Le cramoi, l'héliotrope.
Etc., etc. . . ." (24).

These correspondences could be made part of a tale addressed to the general public; Karr's predecessors had indulged in similar verbal plays. With such a literary current surrounding him, Gautier's indulgence in transpositions, even where it may seem most possibly based on an equivalence of sensations, is explicable on other grounds, and the evidence for a true plasticity of thought in connection with the choice of pictorial and visual vocabulary is but slight. In the selection of his words and images Gautier did not depend wholly on the plastic or even on the visual for the development of his impressions but had recourse to various other sensations and to emotional reactions for the furnishing of his vocabulary. So, in the instances where he confined himself to the visual in words, he made use of a literary rather than a plastic method. His great, possible inspiration from the current of the times does not, however, imply that his literary method was purely artificial, a mere *tour de force* for the benefit of his readers. It goes, rather, to confirm the deductions already made: that Gautier early established a habit of associating one sensory impression with another of different origin. The perceptions so associated are, nevertheless, by no means wholly transferred from all other fields to the visual; this last field has no exclusive power in determining the author's transpositions. Nor is the transposition ever *necessary*, in the sense that Gautier cannot avoid certain equivalences, certain transferences of all impressions to the plastic. His representations of nature and art, composed by transpositions and correspondences, are a monument to his verbal facility and to his inclination to a contemporary, and non-

plastic, habit of thought rather than an evidence of the essential plasticity of his creative imagination.

Before leaving the consideration of Gautier's choice of vocabulary as indicative of a possible plasticity, two particular kinds of verbal development should be noted where the author definitely makes use of non-plastic method. The first of these literary habits is that of employing terms of motion to denote objects which in nature and in art are really stationary. Thus Gautier describes Algerian architecture as possessed with life:

"La perpendiculaire est rarement observée dans les constructions algériennes; les lignes penchent et chancellent comme en état d'ivresse, les murailles se déjetent à droite et à gauche comme si elles allaient vous tomber sur le dos. Rien ne porte, rien n'est d'aplomb. Les maisons, plus larges d'en haut que d'en bas, font l'effet de pyramides sur la pointe. Tout cela s'écroulerait sans doute si des poutres et des perches allant d'un côté à l'autre de ces coupures semblables à des traits de scie dans un bloc de pierre, ne retenaient à distance les murailles, qui meurent d'envie de s'embrasser" (26).

In one of his earliest poems, a "*Paysage*," the author made use of the same device for the development of his theme:

<p>"Pas une feuille qui bouge, Pas un seul oiseau chantant, Au bord de l'horizon rouge Un éclair intermittent .</p>	<p>"Et puis la route qui plonge Dans le flanc des coteaux bleus, Et comme un ruban s'allonge En minces plis onduleux" (26).</p>
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Another description of the same period makes a like use of motion for the presentation of a visual impression:

"—Plus loin, c'est une source entre les coudriers
Qui roule babillarde, et sur les blonds graviers
Éparpille au hasard, comme une chevelure,
Les résilles d'argent de son eau fraîche et pure.
Des joncs croissent auprès que plie un léger vent;
Le blême nénuphar, tel qu'un rideau mouvant,
Ondule sur ses flots, où plonge la grenouille
Parmi les fruits noyés et les feuilles de rouille,
Et dans un tourbillon d'or, de gaze et d'azur,
De lumière inondée aux feux d'un soleil pur,
Danse la demoiselle avec sa longue queue,
De ses ailes de crêpe égratignant l'eau bleue . . ." (27).

According to Souriau, it is just this type of description which differentiates literature from painting in their possibilities of representation:

" . . . Cette mobilité des images est un inconvénient pour l'écrivain qui veut nous mettre sous les yeux une image durable et fixe; elle lui est un secours au contraire quand il s'agit de nous donner une impression de mouvement. C'est en cela que la poésie diffère surtout de la peinture. On décrira plus facilement le geste que l'attitude, le sourire que la bouche, la vague que le rocher, le mouvement que la forme. Souvent l'écrivain, pour nous faire imaginer un objet, ne trouvera pas de meilleur moyen que de nous en donner la construction. S'agit-il de nous faire voir une cathédrale? Dressant les piliers, lançant les voûtes d'une muraille à l'autre, les étayant de contreforts, en une seconde il fera surgir devant nous l'édifice. . . . Veut-il nous montrer un château fort en ruines? Après l'avoir rapidement construit, il nous fera assister à son écroulement, effrtera les pierres, fera ramper le lierre sur les décombres. Ainsi la forme même sera décrite en termes de mouvement " (28).

Souriau's view is supported by Müller-Freienfels, who finds that the art of literature consists rather in the progress of impressions than in a representation of the stationary (29). In the study of Gautier's choice of vocabulary, etc., it was noted that he did not neglect the kinesthetic image, and that the dynamic side of an impression was recorded by him, as well as its static ingredients. Now it becomes apparent that even the fixed scene could be rendered by terms of movement, and that in inclining to this means of development, the author shows himself even further from the truly plastic imagination than his direct choice of vocabulary indicated. These two sides of Gautier's dependence on movement may be seen in two studies of cloud-formation. In the first, which he wrote toward the end of his life, he gives a picture of the changing "meterological phenomena," above Lake Leman: the dynamic side of the visual interests him:

" . . . (A Paris) ils s'en vont, se fondent ou versent leurs urnes de pluie; ils paraissent faire partie du ciel, et l'homme les croit volontiers inaccessibles. Ici c'est tout le contraire: on les voit poindre, se former, s'assembler par flocons sur les flancs ou sur les cimes des montagnes; ils se groupent en bancs, en archipels, marchent en rampant sur les pentes comme de longs phoques blanchâtres qui s'efforcent de s'accrocher à un rivage. . . . On les voit tomber de loin par fumées, par hâchures, par stries, ou jeter des ombres sur les eaux du lac. Le soir, ils s'amuse à coiffer des montagnes de faux glaciers et à mettre à un isolé le panache fumeux d'un volcan " (30).

The second description presents the picture of a single scene, of one particular cloud-effect, and here again Gautier makes use of terms of movement for the representation of his observation:

"Un ciel hâve, plombé comme le teint d'un fiévreux de la Maremme, allourdi par les miasmes délétères qui montent de toutes parts, et si bas, qu'il semble prêt à trébucher sur votre tête, recouvre cette misère et cette désolation de sa coupole enfumée. Des nuages épais fouettés par une bise aigre et stridente rampent péniblement sur la ligne de l'horizon, et montrent au-dessus des collines leurs mufles bouffis, comme des phoques monstrueux qui sortent de la mer; les fours à chaux barbouillent de leur trainée de fumée blanche les tons vineux des lointains, et les tuyaux noirs des usines crachent en l'air la vapeur des chaudières avec un râle asthmatique et des hoquets de cachalot trop repu" (31).

Théophile Gautier, in so far as he uses this means of development by terms of movement, is surely more literary than plastic.

The same tendency toward the employment of the resources of the art of *words* may be distinguished in a second of his literary devices, that of the verbal presentation of the visual in *exaggerated* form, in order that its effect on the imagination of the reader may be comparable to a direct perception. Gautier himself realized his process here and ascribed it to the very necessities of verbal rendering:

"... Nous avons parlé un peu ici de tissus simples, de productions moins rares pour faire trêve à ce feu d'artifice de mots, à ces bombes lumineuses de métaphores, à ces pluies d'argent et d'or, d'adjectifs et de comparaisons auxquels nous sommes obligé d'avoir recours pour éveiller dans l'idée de ceux qui nous lisent une image effacée et confuse des féeries que nous voyons..." (32)

The poet finds himself in agreement with the æsthetician in regard to this method of literary evocation:

"Il n'est pas aussi difficile qu'on le pense de colorer une description. La nuance la plus délicate ou la plus vive est toujours quelque chose d'absolument simple, que l'on peut désigner d'un mot très précis... Certaines descriptions de nos romanciers modernes ont certainement autant de couleur que le meilleur tableau. Il est même des effets de luminosité ou de coloration excessive dont une page écrite nous donnera plus facilement l'impression qu'un tableau. Le peintre est tenu de ménager notre rétine. Mais les descriptions poétiques, étant purement idéales, peuvent évoquer l'image d'objets si éblouissants que, dans la réalité, nous ne saurions en soutenir l'éclat..."

"Que l'on relise à titre d'expérience cette page de son roman de *Spirite*, où Théophile Gautier reprend après Dante, et avec des couleurs plus éclatantes encore, le thème poétique du paradis de lumière..." (33).

The passage from *Spirite* which Souriau cites as an example of the poetic procedure is by no means unique in the writings of Gautier, as his own analysis admits. It is a literary procedure,

for if, in the representation of visual effects, the writer goes farther than the plastic arts should go, he is in the same measure literary and not plastic in his method, even though his object remain the reproduction of the visual. Whether he transposes visual effects which are beyond the power of the painter to represent or of the observer to regard, whether he exaggerates what he has seen in order that it may produce a vivid, imaginal impression on his reader, in either case he is making use of verbal and not plastic means, and his divergence from the method of the painter (from his particular kind of creative imagination) is obvious.

The evidence for literary as against plastic imagination in Gautier is not limited to his choice of vocabulary and its employment, but extends in two principal ways to the manner of presentation, to the upbuilding of his verbal constructions. The first of these is the order in which his word-paintings are given, the second a lack of unity in the material presented at any one time. The distinction between a plastic order and a literary order or sequence has been made by theoretical and by experimental æstheticians. In his study of suggestion in art, Souriau announces the point of view proper to the writer who would reproduce for his readers the paintings which he criticizes:

“Cet effacement rapide des images (dans la lecture) oblige l'écrivain à décrire les objets au premier coup, par grandes masses, et autant que possible d'ensemble. Diderot, dans ses *Salons*, nous fournit un excellent exemple de la méthode à éviter. Il décrit une toile en commençant par un coin pour finir par l'autre . . . L'inventaire est exact et méthodique. Mais de quoi s'agit-il donc? . . . Le sens commun indique qu'il faudrait immédiatement nous mettre sous les yeux la partie du tableau qui dans la réalité attirerait d'abord notre attention, à savoir le groupe central. Cette image une fois bien arrêtée dans l'esprit, on peut essayer de faire apparaître, par une rapide évocation verbale, les images accessoires” (34).

In recent years Dessoir has made definite experiments in order to determine the manner in which a picture is really seen, and to try to fix a method of describing the plastic object which shall as nearly as possible conform to the actual process of observation. On the evidence of these experiments he came to the following conclusions:

" . . . Immerhin lässt sich das eine mit Bestimmtheit sagen, dass *ein Bild von Anbeginn an als ein Ganzes aufgefasst wird, in dem einiges Einzelne sofort zum klaren Bewusstsein kommt . . .*" (p. 449).

"Es wird in jeder dem natürlichen Eindruck angepassten Beschreibung zuerst durch Angabe einer entscheidenden Punkte der Gesamteindruck des Bildes wiederzugeben sein . . . Niemals darf mit einem beliebigen Detail begonnen werden. Meine Versuchspersonen hatten bei der ersten, spätestens bei der zweiten Exposition das Gefühl, alles Wesentliche, zum mindesten alles aufgefasst zu haben, was sich bei einer Augensblickwahrnehmung überhaupt apperzipieren lässt. Da sie den überzeugenden Eindruck eines Ganzes empfangen, so kamen sie nicht auf den Gedanken, dass etwas Wichtiges fehlen könnte. Die gleiche Wirkung muss von den ersten Sätzen einer durchgebildeten Beschreibung ausgehen." (p. 450.)

According to this æsthetician, there is a notable difference between the descriptions of temporal and spacial works of art; "sie liegt darin, dass auf der einen Seite nach dem Gegensatz der Steigerung, auf der andern Seite nach dem Gegensatz der Minderung beschrieben wird" (p. 442). How then, he asks, shall one go about the actual reproduction of the work of plastic art.

" . . . Auf dieselbe Art, scheint mir, wie eine jede sprachliche Mitteilung, solange sie aus anschaulichen Vorstellungen entspringt . . . Die natürliche Darstellung einer anschaulichen Erkenntnis geht von dem wertvollsten Bestandteil aus und schreibt in stufenweise erfolgender Minderung weiter. So muss auch die Beschreibung eines Bildwerks die Einzelheiten nach Massgabe des mit ihnen verknüpften Interesses aufrollen." (p. 443.)

In order to accomplish this true description, the writer must be willing to sacrifice the intrinsically literary qualities of his composition; he must subordinate sentence-construction and the rhythm of phrases to exactitude of presentation. In all descriptions of plastic objects lies the danger that "literarische Gesichtspunkte die Wertordnung der Angaben beeinflussen und damit den empfindlichsten Schaden anrichten können. Der dichterischen Wirkung zuliebe werden—nachweislich—Steigerungen eingeführt, die innerhalb des Verfahrens der Minderung ganz unzulässig sind, werden Zusammenhänge hergestellt, die nur schrittstellerisches Lebensrecht haben, und es werden die bildmässigen Einheiten preisgegeben" (p. 455, 35). Dessoir, indeed, believes that only by this identity of manner of presentation and manner of observing can there be any identity between the object and its description, for the object itself can obviously not be presented in a different medium while the system of relations which con-

stitutes it can be transferred from the plastic arts to literature if its sequence is properly observed in the transcription. This order, then, is a true criterion of plasticity.

Judged by this standard, Théophile Gautier's imagination appears as by no means wholly plastic; numerically, the descriptions in literary order surpass those which are grouped plastically; in general value, also, the literary presentation outweighs the plastic. It must not be inferred from this statement that the author does not recognize and, indeed, frequently make use of exactness in the ordering of his pictorial renderings. He writes, for example, in the "Salon de 1848":

"Il faut généralement à un tableau un centre autour duquel gravitent les accessoires, un point qui fasse converger à lui les lignes principales; une figure plus élevée que les autres termine heureusement un triangle de personnages; la composition a sa mathématique et sa statique, cependant tout cela ne doit pas paraître . . ." (36).

Nevertheless, the recognition of this composition is very often not carried over into the account of the work of art which the critic is describing, and in place of the plastic order the author introduces into his piece a culmination of effects, a progression from the unimportant to the important, an order which, according to the distinctions of the theorists, is wholly literary. Gautier's description of one of Penguilly's paintings is characteristic of this method where the first paragraph gives nothing of the real importance of the picture and where the whole order of the description is that of a gradual enhancing of interest:

"*L'Approche d'une tempête* sur les bords du Finistère à marée montante est, sans contredit, la plus belle marine que nous ayons jamais vue. Tout le premier plan du tableau est occupé par des bancs de rochers et des entassements de galets blancs et ronds comme des crânes humains.

"Au delà de cette ligne, la mer monte, régulière et lourde sous le tumulte des vagues, opaque et noire sous la folle écume et les *moutons* des brisans; . . . On dirait qu'elle essaie ses forces et fait de la gymnastique pour se tenir en état de recommencer le déluge. . . .

"Une pauvre femme, montée sur une assise de roche, interroge avec inquiétude cet horizon sombre, cette mer menaçante et ce vent à décorner des bœufs qui fouette et tourmente ses vêtements. . . .

"Cette figurine isolée entre le ciel et l'eau agrandit singulièrement la solitude et l'immensité de l'horizon; elle lui donne un sens et une portée . . ." (37).

It is not only in his descriptions of works of art that Gautier shows his dependence on literary imagination; a paragraph from his *Excursion en Grèce* illustrates his use of the verbal climax in other reproductions of the visible:

"Le port était presque désert, à part quelques légers bâtiments à la flamme verte et blanche . . . La pure lumière du matin éclairait le quai de pierre, les maisons blanches et les toits de tuiles . . . Ces bâtisses, d'un aspect plus suisse qu'athénien, contrariaient l'œil et l'imagination, mais, si l'on néglige le premier plan un peu vulgaire, on est amplement dédommagé, et la magie du passé renaît tout entière.

"Au fond se découpent en ondulations bleuâtres, à gauche, le mont Parnès; à droite le mont Hymette; puis le Lycabète et le Pentélique un peu en recul et teints par l'éloignement d'un azur plus faible. Dans l'espèce d'échancrure que forment à l'horizon les pentes des deux montagnes, un rocher soudain s'élève comme un trépidon ou un autel. Sur ce rocher scintille, doré avec amour par le baiser du soleil levant, le triangle d'un fronton. Quelques colonnes se dessinent, laissant apercevoir l'air bleu à travers leurs interstices; une large touche de lumière ébauche une haute tour carrée; c'est Athènes, l'Athènes antique, l'Acropole, le Parthénon, restes sacrés, où tout amant du beau doit venir en pèlerinage du fond de sa terre barbare . . ." (38).

Such developments are, however, most frequent in the representations of works of art—whether these be written in verse or in prose—and they are here even more significant for the character of Gautier's imagination, for in the work of art the plastic order is already present and to give the object to the reader in a *literary* form requires of the author a transposition into another mode of thought, into an entirely different system of relations.

In the *Guide de l'amateur . . . au musée du Louvre*, for example, four descriptions only are outstanding for their plastic order, and in general, here as in the *Salons* and occasional critical articles, the sequence of the descriptions is distinctly literary (39). In the "*Salon de 1850-1851*," indeed, the author begins his account of Muller's *Appel des victimes* with a detail which, according to his own admission, the painter wished not to emphasize:

"Le centre lumineux du tableau est une grille ouverte, qui laisse voir la fatale charrette sur laquelle les valets des bourreaux hissent les victimes: de cette porte, un jour oblique et frisant se répand dans la grande salle où sont groupés les prisonniers, entassant l'ombre dans les angles.

"Au milieu de la salle se tient debout un homme en habit à la Robespierre. . . .

"Nous avons rendu fidèlement la composition de M. Muller; il nous reste maintenant à l'apprécier:

" . . . Par une sorte de pudeur, de bon goût que nous comprenons, il a relégué au dernier plan, et effacé sous une espèce de brouillard grisâtre, l'infâme tombereau, vraie charrette de boucherie, déjà encombré de victimes. Son talent fin, spirituel et délicat, s'est refusé à mettre brutalement en relief ce hideux corbillard de victimes . . ." (40).

In spite of Gautier's boast that he has reproduced this picture faithfully, in spite of his agreement with the painter's selection of emphasis, it is the detail effaced by the latter which the critic brings out from its obscurity and places before his readers in that position which, to a plastic imagination, is most important for the total impression of the work of art. The evidence continues throughout Gautier's prose, it is present in his verse. The traveler received a vivid impression from one of Juan Valdès Leal's pictures:

"Ce tableau,—toile étrange où manquent les figures,—
N'est qu'un vaste fouillis d'étoffes, de dorures,
De vases, d'objets d'art, de brocarts opulents,
Miroités de lumière et de rayons tremblants.
Tous les trésors du monde et toutes les richesses: . . ."

The author enumerates the splendors of the picture, and then asks the painter what "black antithesis" was in his mind;

"Quel sombre épouvantail ton pinceau sépulcral
Voulait-il évoquer, pâle Valdès Léal?"

It is not until the poem has progressed through some fifty lines of exposition and description that its author reaches the point which formed the true significance of the picture:

"En effet,—le voici, l'œil cave et le front ras,
Qui dans la fête arrive, un cercueil sous le bras,
Ricane affreusement de sa bouche élargie,
Et met, brusque éteignoir, sa main sur la bougie . . ." (41).

Even Gautier's manuscripts denote the same literary imagination, and one finds, for example, among the five variants of the "Néréides" only one where an early verse contains the central point of the painting which the poet reproduces:

"On y voit, bizarre mélange
De fable et de réalité,
Passer un vaisseau qui dérange
Des néréides en gaité."

This stanza is the second in the variant in question. In the printed version of the poem, the steamship which is here mentioned does not appear before the ninth stanza, although, according to Gautier's own analysis, it is this very ship and its contrast to the mythological presentations of other portions of the painting which made up its original and striking charm (42). The poet, in his final choice, decided against the one version of his poem which contained evidence for an imagination more plastic than literary in the ordering of its composition (43).

A second criterion of plasticity in the sequence of presentation is that of the unity of any one set of visual facts: does the author present the visual impression as it appears, as a whole, or does he interrupt the *picture* which he is making in order to insert reflections of one kind or another; is he the plastic artist recreating, or is he the critic or observer recording his total impression, which may include elements extraneous to the actual sensory perceptions. All the evidence which has been adduced for the comprehension of Gautier's process of composition stands against plasticity as judged by this standard. The total purity of visual-verbal representation is slight, and even in the author's most nearly plastic effects (considered in connection with other criteria) there is almost always an introduction of anecdotic, historical, or interpretative material which transforms the process of reproduction from the plastic to the literary. It must be admitted that Gautier did not seem to choose this type of work voluntarily. The reproaches of Turgan for his method of picturing in the *Roman de la Momie* will be recalled: Gautier preferred to present his descriptions, then to proceed to the narration, while his editor believed that the public would demand a fiction-interest running more steadily through the whole *feuilleton*. Even here, however, the perfect integrity of the picture was not maintained, and the author who disliked to mingle story-telling with a portrayal of the exterior world composed his chosen representation by a mingling of visual and explanatory material; the unusual designation of some art-object in ancient Egypt was *explained* almost immediately, according to the writer's own words. In the same

manner, Gautier the theorist denounced "literary painting," and maintained that there was no story attached to the perfect piece of plastic art. He felt that the work of Ary Scheffer, for example, did not represent the highest type of painting.

"Un autre caractère de M. Ary Scheffer, c'est qu'il n'est pas frappé immédiatement par les objets, et ne s'inspire guère que sur des descriptions: en un mot, il est plus littéraire que pittoresque . . .

"Goethe, Byron et Burger ont eu sur lui une influence énorme et se sont emparés de sa pensée à un point peut-être sans exemple . . .

"Le portrait de M. de Lamennais nous semble bien morose et bien réchigné . . .

"L'infériorité de ce portrait, relativement aux autres tableaux du même maître, confirme ce que nous avons dit plus haut. Il ne sait pas s'inspirer immédiatement de la nature; il a besoin de voir son sujet à travers un livre.

"Les peintres par tempérament, au contraire, sont plus frappés d'un objet que d'une phrase; une tête fortement accentuée, un ton chaud, un effet de lumière, et les voilà remplis d'enthousiasme; ils courent à leurs crayons et à leurs pinceaux; car ils conçoivent en peintres et non en littérateurs" (44).

This dictum is merely an indication of Gautier's feeling for the integrity of painting and its independence of interpretative material. How far his actual process of composition and his mental habits in creation are from the ideal which he set before himself, is evident from the greater part of his reproduction of pictures, and has been noted with especial vigour by Faral. This critic compares a description which Fromentin gave in his *Été dans le Sahara*, the painting which he made of the same scene, and Gautier's *compte-rendu* of this painting in his *Salon de 1859*:

" . . . Il serait peut-être surprenant, il sera en tout cas instructif de savoir que le texte de la colonne de gauche, qui est de Fromentin, décrit la scène observée sur le vif, tandis que le texte de droite, qui est de Théophile Gautier, décrit le tableau. Surprenant, car il semble qu'il y ait, dans la page de Fromentin, plus de précision sobre et méticuleuse du critique d'art qui se fait scrupule de trahir celui dont il examine l'œuvre, et dans celle de Gautier, plus de cette fantaisie imaginative et interprétative qui caractérise la description littéraire. . . . En regard de la probité stricte et toute classique de Fromentin (la comparaison) montrera la déformation systématique,—heureuse ou non, c'est à débattre,—que Gautier fait subir aux objets afin de mieux frapper l'imagination . . ." (45).

In the study of the construction of the *Voyage en Espagne* and of some of the poems of *España*, this habit on the part of Gautier was noted, and the inclusion of anecdotes, of historical material, of reflections on the part of the observer, in his record of visual

events, was there evident as an integral part of his method of composition. This process of creation is not limited to any one epoch in the life of the author, and examples of it may be pointed out as late as 1871, when the critic reviewed the merits of Henri Regnault's *Salomé* and mingled with his reproduction of the picture various considerations of an anecdotic and historical nature (46). His habit of verbal analysis in regard to the pictorial is illustrated strikingly in another art-criticism:

"*Le Passé, le Présent et l'Avenir*, composition symbolique de M. Papety, nous satisfait médiocrement: ces abstractions ne se prêtent guère à la peinture, et bien que nous soyons très accommodant en matière allégorique, il nous est difficile de reconnaître ces trois façons d'être du temps dans les figures groupées par M. Papety dans un milieu vague et sombre.

"Le temps n'existe que par rapport à nous. Ce que nous appelons le présent, par exemple, ne saurait être apprécié,—nous courons entre le passé et l'avenir sur un fil plus ténu que la lame du rasoir le mieux affilé. . . . Le présent n'est fait que de passés plus ou moins jeunes, c'est tout au plus si l'on peut appeler de ce nom la pulsation de la seconde à la montre qu'on tient à la main; un battement de notre cœur, violà tout ce que nous possédons et encore.—Mais n'allons pas nous enfoncer, à propos de peinture, dans la métaphysique la plus ténébreuse, et ne reprochons pas d'une façon inintelligible à quelqu'un de n'être pas clair.

"Le Passé a la forme d'un vieillard . . ." (44).

It is not only that Gautier presents his metaphysical and other literary considerations to his readers in the accounts of various visual impressions which he has received; it is possible that these are strictly necessary, in what they possess of universal interest, for the evocation of the visual object in the mind of his reader. The additional facts must be remembered, however, that these considerations are allowed to interrupt the actual sequence of the description and that before the reader can know the objects on which Gautier's reflections are based, these reflections themselves are placed before him.

Gautier thus takes advantage of the medium which he uses to employ its full possibilities, and departs thereby from the pictorial method which he demanded of the veritable painter. He mingles considerations of a purely literary nature with the very presentation of specific visual effects; whatever may have been his theory, his ideal of pictorial work, his imagination does not here proceed plastically. Lafenestre characterizes Gautier's word-translations of the Salons as something new in art-criticism, which

made possible a true appreciation of the works described. His description of this method of creation, which, viewed superficially, seems to imply a reproduction of the actual plastic masterpiece, allows one to grasp its significance for the literary quality of Gautier's imagination:

" . . . Gautier substitua hardiment la traduction directe de ces ouvrages dans la langue que comprend le public français, dont l'intelligence s'ouvre plus aisément aux émotions littéraires qu'aux impressions plastiques. Pour les faire comprendre à ce public dont les yeux n'étaient pas encore dessillés, il leur raconta les tableaux, les statues, les monuments, comme il leur racontait les drames et les comédies joués sur les théâtres de Paris; il trouva, dans le plus riche vocabulaire dont ait jamais disposé un écrivain, des mots de toute couleur, des phrases de toute forme, pour transporter, dans les colonnes de ses feuilletons, les nuances infinies des colorations pittoresques, les lignes insaisissables des contours sculpturaux . . . Ce fut là son coup de maître; pendant trente ans Théophile Gautier *expliqua* ainsi *en éclairant* les côtés lumineux, *chargeant* les traits d'ombre, *accentuant* le caractère original; *soulignant les intentions*, l'œuvre si variée des artistes français . . ." (47).

From this review of the characters of Gautier's creative imagination, it would seem that he goes too far who ascribes to the author a genius more plastic than literary. The desire of the writer is to be distinguished from his method, and the term *plasticity* can not be taken too inclusively without risk of confusion. It is necessary to differentiate, among artists, those who are plastic in *interest*, who find their greatest æsthetic pleasure in pictorial and sculptural art, from those who are truly plastic in their means of expression. In the latter group there are implied certain habits of thought, certain technical factors, which characterize their imagination as plastic, and while Théophile Gautier belongs among those artists who are plastic in feeling, it is doubtful that he should be placed among those who *create* plastically. The author himself remarked that for the representation of the plastic he had been "obliged to seek analogies" (48); Sainte-Beuve recognized in him both "le style palette et le style bouteille à l'encre" (49). Judged from the point of view of the pictorial "idea," it may be that Gautier's imagination was as much plastic as literary, and this deduction is supported to a certain extent by his habit of translating nature into terms of art. Those points which have been considered most conclusive for his plasticity—the use of pictorial allusion and comparison, the frequent develop-

ment by means of forms and colours, the transpositions which seemed, erroneously, to imply synæsthesia—cannot with justice, however, be taken to confirm these findings. Their connection with the current of the times, with a *literary* habit of composition, must be recognized, and this relation prevents these characters of the author from becoming true criteria of the plastic. On the other hand, in certain specific directions Gautier's imaginative process was far less that of a painter than that of a writer: at times he utilized in his written descriptions exaggerations of visual effect which would not find a place in plastic art, frequently he depended upon description by movement for the translation of the visible. Most indicative of all, those descriptions which might well have been plastic—since their prototypes were already offered him in other works of art—abandoned the plastic order and were developed by literary means; in the sequence of the descriptive traits themselves, and in the interruptions of these verbal translations for the interpolation of non-plastic reflections of anecdotic, historical, philosophical or emotional nature. A description of 1836 gives an anticipation of Gautier's lifelong method of creation, where the non-plastic metaphor will be mingled with the plastic, where the author will insert in the description his own interpretations of the object seen, where his composition will progress with a literary sequence of ideas:

“ . . . La scène représente une gorge étroite et profonde, où filtre entre des roches un petit ruisseau cristallin *tamisé par les monts*, d'une pureté et d'une fraîcheur glaciale. Des arbres embrassés par des vrilles de lierre poussent jusqu'à un ciel tout bleu, où traîne un pan de nuage doré, leurs têtes austèrement élégantes comme des têtes de femmes grecques. Des mousses veloutées et courtes, piquées ça et là de fleurs sauvages, habillent la pente des rives. Diane, la chaste déesse, est encore vêtue de sa longue tunique, et sa pudeur semble hésiter à livrer son corps d'argent aux regards d'azur du ciel et aux caresses de la brise folle . . . Quelle épisode enfantine et charmante!—Quelle antique simplicité.—Comme on sent bien l'été qui brûle au dehors de toute cette fraîcheur, et comme le chien Sirius qui halète au zénith, voudrait plonger sa gueule dans cette claire fontaine . . . ” (50).

Théophile Gautier, however plastic in æsthetic appreciation, is not wholly plastic in creative method; indeed, a general examination of his production leads to the conclusion that he is more literary than plastic.

1. Essai sur Baudelaire. *V. Portraits et souvenirs littéraires*, p. 263. (The italics are not Gautier's.)
2. As noted in the introduction, the terms *plasticity* and *plastic* must be taken—in this study as in their ordinary French usage at the time when Gautier's qualities were most discussed—to include the pictorial as well as the strictly plastic, sculptural. It would be difficult, and indeed unnecessary for the consideration of Gautier the writer, to try to distinguish between the traits which made him approximate the sculptor rather than the painter, or *vice versa*. On the other hand, the question of the literary as against the *plastic* (pictorial or sculptural) is of great moment for the understanding of his particular artistic talent.
3. LUITZ, *Aesthetik* . . . , p. 76.
4. Quoted from Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, 3^e édition, XIV, 73.
5. "Le Salon de 1839," *La Presse*, 21 mars 1839.
6. "De la composition en peinture," *La Presse*, 22 novembre 1836.
7. LAFENESTRE, *Artistes et Amateurs* . . . , p. 123.
8. LEHTONEN, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
9. FRANK, *op. cit.*, p. 512-518, *passim*.
10. ROSENTHAL, *La Peinture* . . . , p. 337-340, *passim*.
11. "La Plaine"; SAINT-EBEVE, *Poésies de Joseph Delorme*, p. 125.
12. "L'Enfant-rêveur," *ibid.*, p. 99.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 77-79.
14. SPRONCK, *Les Artistes littéraires*, p. 30, quoting Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, t. II, mars 1840.
15. Cf. Gautier's description of *la Source*, in *l'Artiste* of February 1, 1857:
 "... Le bras relevé entraîne la ligne extérieure du corps et lui donne une ondulation serpentine d'une suavité extrême; on suit amoureusement ce contour modulé comme une belle phrase musicale, qui chante et se rythme à l'œil avec une harmonie enchanteresse. M. Ingres connaît aussi bien que les grecs, les mélodies de la forme, l'eurythmie des poses, et la métrique de cet admirable poème du corps humain,—le plus beau vêtement que puisse emprunter l'idéal . . ."
 Gautier does not even see pictures as wholly dependent, for their effect, on the eyes of the beholder:
 "*Les Fleurs et les Papillons* sont le plus charmant bouquet de tous ceux qu'un coloriste puisse offrir aux yeux. Les papillons ont des pétales, les fleurs ont des ailes; au premier coup d'œil on ne sait pas qui vole et qui s'épanouit.—On ne se contente pas de regarder ce tableau, on le respire: il est parfumé. Vous à qui la jacinthe ou la tubéreuse font mal à la tête, passez vite." *Salon de 1847*, p. 169.
16. "*La Source*, nouveau tableau de M. Ingres," *loc. cit.*
17. A literary and pictorial correspondence is noted here, but it does not necessarily imply *plasticity* of thought, for the points in which the association is made are those of *tactile* and *thermic* imagery common to the verbal and pictorial expressions.
18. Lettre à M. Poulet-Malassis, éditeur, août ou septembre 1857; *Lovenjoul* C-488-61.
19. Lettre à Hoka, 22 décembre 1845; *Correspondance* II, 205.
20. *La Presse*, 10 juillet 1843.
21. *Le Club des Hachichins*, dans la *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1^{er} février 1846, p. 524-525.
22. A. SÉGALAS, "Aux poètes," dans la *Revue poétique du XIX^e siècle*, p. 43.
23. THORÉ, *L'Art des parfums*, 1836.

24. *Op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

25. *Loin de Paris*, p. 34.

26. *Poésies complètes*, I, 12.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 88, "Le Retour."

28. SOURIAU, *La Suggestion dans l'art*, p. 217.

29. *Psychologie der Kunst*, II, 95; this is, of course, Lessing's contention from the beginning. Henry Houssaye considers this point as entirely characteristic of Gautier's art:

"... Loin de rejeter les idées trop absolues de Lessing, admettons-les, et voyons si les 'tableaux' de Théophile Gautier s'accordent avec les théories du critique allemand.

"Nous partons de ces deux principes: d'une part, le mouvement appartient exclusivement à l'écrivain. Or le mouvement est l'âme même de toutes les scènes du *Siège de Paris*. D'autre part, le poète doit toujours, dans la description, employer l'artifice d'Homère, c'est-à-dire, 'substituer à la description d'un corps le tableau animé d'une action.' Or c'est là même le procédé descriptif accoutumé du maître écrivain qui s'appelle Théophile Gautier. L'admirable page plastique par quoi se termine *Mademoiselle de Maupin* est, en ce sens, absolument homérique. L'action est tellement mêlée à la description qu'il est impossible de voir où celle-ci commence et où celle-là finit.

"Ce 'procédé homérique,' qui est évidemment inné chez M. Théophile Gautier, on le retrouve dans la plupart des descriptions, ou, pour parler comme Lessing des 'actions décrites,' ou des 'descriptions animées,' de ses voyages, de ses poésies, de ses romans . . ."

HENRY HOUSSAYE, *Les Hommes et les idées*, p. 86.

30. *Vacances du lundi*, p. 77.

31. *Voyages hors Barrières*, dans les *Caprices et Zigzags*, p. 274.

32. *L'Inde*, *ibid.*, p. 253.

33. SOURIAU, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

34. *Loc. cit.*, p. 210. It is interesting to note that the general resemblances between the *Salons* of Diderot and those of Gautier has been strongly emphasized by Luitz in the introduction to his essay on the latter.

35. DESSOIR, *Ueber das Beschreiben von Bildern*. Müller-Freienfels also calls attention to the distinctive character of literary description which lies in its progression toward a climax:

"Aus diesen Vorwärtsdrängen der Handlung ergibt sich dann mit Notwendigkeit fast eine andere Formwirkung: die *Steigerung*. Aus den psychologischen Gründen, die ich schon oben bei der Steigerung in der Musik besprochen habe, muss auch der Dichter seine wuchtigsten Wirkungen gegen den Schluss hin aufsparen, wenn nicht das Interesse erlahmen soll . . ."

Psychologie der Kunst, II, 96.

36. *La Presse*, 28 avril 1848.

37. "Salon de 1852," *La Presse*, 4 mai 1852.

38. *Op. cit.*; *l'Orient*, I, 179.

39. *Cf.*, for example, Gautier's rendering of *Une Rue d'El-Aghouat* by Fromentin, where the order of presentation is distinctly literary, and, indeed, is differentiated thus from Fromentin's own description of the actual scene. *V. Le Moniteur universel*, 28 mai 1859, "Salon de 1859."

40. *Loc. cit.*, *La Presse*, 6 février 1851.

41. "Deux Tableaux de Valdès Léal," *España, Poésies complètes*, II, 147.

42. *Lovenjoul* C-444-36, 37; *Emaux et Camées*, p. 147.

43. For a full understanding of Gautier's lack of plasticity here, his writings should be compared with those of certain contemporaries—Flaubert, for example, makes at least as much use of plastic order as does Gautier; the Goncourts, in *Charles Demailly* (pp. 276-277, 384-385), work with a true plasticity; the literary works of Fromentin and of Eugène Delacroix show the imagination of the painter actually engaged in literary composition. Their method of procedure gives striking support to Dessoir's distinction between a plastic and a literary order in verbal description. The fact that Gautier himself realized the "globality" of a first plastic impression is evident from the following accounts:

"Le tableau de M. Paton,—la *Dispute d'Obéron et de Titania*—n'est pas indigne d'illustrer le merveilleux rêve d'été du poète, et ce n'est pas là un médiocre éloge. Au premier aspect, la coloration étrange, la bizarrerie du travail qui ressemble à un lavis à l'huile, l'enchevêtrement compliqué des groupes, ne préviennent pas favorablement; mais, si l'on reste assez longtemps devant la toile pour s'habituer à ce jour lunaire, à cette lumière d'extra-monde fait de reflets, de scintillations et de phosphorescences, qui changent tous les rapports de tons, on ne peut plus s'en détacher, et l'on y revient à chaque visite au Salon, sans pourtant parvenir à tout voir dans cette composition luxuriante, touffue, peuplée d'épisodes sans nombres et de détails infinis." *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, I, 57.

"M. Hurlstone est un des rares peintres anglais restés fidèles à la manière expéditive et large de Reynolds.—Au premier aspect on prendrait son *Jeu de la morra* pour une esquisse du maître: c'est la même couleur blonde et chaude, le même travail pâte et d'ombres frottées. . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 68.

44. "Salon de 1846," *La Presse*, 31 mars 1846.

45. FARAL, *Deux pages de Fromentin et de Th. Gautier*, p. 673.

46. Henri Regnault, p. 20.

47. LAFENESTRE, *Artistes et Amateurs* . . . , pp. 138-139 (the italics are not Lafenestre's). It may be argued that the *Aufgabe* of the critic in such instances changed the process of representation, and that literary interruptions here do not necessarily imply a non-plastic imagination. The fact that the same process was present, from the beginning, even where the critic's task was quite lacking seems, however, to invalidate this objection.

48. Cf. *le Voyage en Russie*, I, 283.

49. The expression is found in one of the manuscript notes which served for Sainte-Beuve's studies on Gautier in 1863; *Lovenjoul* C-509-15.

50. "Salon de 1836," *le Cabinet de lecture*, mars 1836.

CONCLUSION

In 1839 Eugène Guinot wrote for *l'Artiste* the story of *Une Victime des arts*, in which he described young Anastase's unhappy passion for the fine arts. " 'Je serai peintre, dit-il, ou sculpteur, ou compositeur ou poète.' Anastase, comme on le voit, n'avait pas de préférence; il voulait être artiste, n'importe en quel genre, pourvu que la gloire fût au bout du chemin." He painted an

Hercule filant aux pieds d'Omphale, which was greeted in the studio with so much gaiety, sarcasm and frank mockery that the young clerk began to doubt his genius as a painter.

"Mais la passion d'Anastase était de celles qu'irrite une défaite; son fol enthousiasme pour les arts trouva de nouvelles forces dans ses premiers échecs. L'intrépide jeune homme ne déserta pas ses dieux; il ne fit que changer d'autel; ou plutôt il étendit son culte à tous les arts à la fois, résolu de tenter toutes les voies, et de persévérer là où il serait le mieux secondé par ses dispositions, et le mieux accueilli par le succès et par la gloire . . ." (1).

Théophile Gautier, who had started his career as a painter, deserted it as did the young Anastase, but he also kept his ambition to be an artist, he too used his talents in accordance with the main tendencies of his disposition. It was in his literary production, original and critical, and not in drawing or painting that his particular creative imagination could best be exercised, and it is by this production that the psychology of the artist may be understood.

It is evident from a study of Gautier's life and work that he was equipped with certain emotional tendencies of varying force and degree of influence upon his activities. He had a great love for members of his family, a long devotion to various friends; he desired their good for their sake and for his own. He was fearful by nature and demanded protection. This he sought to find in an inner and outer tranquillity, in an impassibility which combined, with a certain reverence for power in every form, a denial of value in all but the appearance of things. The artist, who received great pleasure from form and colour, could contemplate and quietly rejoice in external beauty. He had, however, certain drives to activity. Desires for glory and originality were not wholly lacking in him; despite his general pessimistic attitude, he was interested in creating and found pleasure in construction. Above all, he desired permanence, and as he saw that external beauty was frequently the most lasting, he found himself able to link together his various emotional tendencies in one trend toward the adoration and even the creation of a permanent, plastic beauty. This trend was not unique in his make-up, it did not always prove itself more forceful than other less inclusive, but perhaps mo-

mentarily more favoured tendencies. It was, however, at the base of his artistic theory and is likewise largely characteristic of his imagination in the process of creation.

The part of Gautier's emotional tendencies in the construction of his literary work is seen in atmosphere, personage and form. His early pieces are characterized by a romanticism which has its roots in his self-regarding sentiment in so far as the traditional manifestations of personal eccentricities, attitude toward nature, etc., are concerned. In its pessimistic aspect this atmosphere endures through many years of writing, with its lasting bases of nihilism and fear; in its phantasies, again, it rests upon the desire to show many phases of the beautiful as well as upon philosophical and self-regarding tendencies. It is with the æsthetic sentiment also that the grotesque atmosphere of his work has its connection; whether it be burlesque or horrible, whether its employment be that of an ugly "repoussoir" to beauty or that of the intrinsically lovely, it is connected with Gautier's pre-occupation with the beautiful as well as with certain technical interests and pleasures. The satiric atmosphere, again, is in great part the product of Gautier's æsthetic sentiment: he mocks at those who despise or misunderstand beauty, he spares those who work earnestly, even though unsuccessfully, for the production of plastic beauty. He himself finds that it may often best be created through exoticism; the universal and eternal can be transported through space and time into his work and reproduced there, absolute beauty is most nearly to be found in the classic art of antiquity. The exotic and plastic atmospheres may appear individually or in combination as resultants of Gautier's æsthetic sentiment in his literary production. In so far as personages are concerned, the author presents two principal types: developments of the self or its individual traits, and representations of an external beauty. In one case the determining influence of his tendency to self-enhancement, in the other a further manifestation of the plastic, may be found. The form of his work is likewise partially dependent on the author's sentiments, for the short, polished piece of prose or verse has its connection with his artistic

theory, while *feuilletons* are encouraged by a sentiment of self-regard working through the need of protecting and caring for personal possessions. Here, however, questions of technique enter in very great measure, and the creative imagination of Théophile Gautier, though largely characterized by his hierarchy of sentiments, is found to have further distinctive features in technical equipment and method.

The artist, however awkward in handling the tools of the painter, was extraordinarily skillful in the use of words. His endowment here, his verbal facility, were notable from his childhood on through half a century of literary production and brilliant conversation. Verbal and visual memory stood him in good stead. The imagination of the author was stimulated by a certain type of environment: the active and yet impersonal. He wrote most easily in the midst of journalistic activity; he could best compose during an omnibus-ride. The approbation and encouragement of his friends, the constant reminders of his editors, assisted him greatly in his actual output. For factual or technical detail he went willingly to collaborators who might be experts in a particular line, or who might furnish him fundamental data upon which he could embroider. His *feuilleton*-composition became nearly automatic: given certain observations or facts, a certain idea or plan, he could construct the desired number of chapters, and calculate his speed and output in advance. Inspiration to his work came from various sources. It might be drawn from past or contemporary literary interests (2); it might come from current events or from personal experience. Pictorial art also might be its basis. The author writes the tale of a shepherd boy who, in distinction to the attitude of the ordinary peasant, loved nature as a work of art. He did not recognize what this especial attitude was, however, until a sketch of the scene in which he figured awakened him to an understanding of his admiration. "Des écailles venaient de lui tomber des yeux, une révélation subite s'était opérée en lui." He began to realize "à quoi servait de contempler les arbres, les plis du terrain et les formes des nuages" (3). Gautier writes with the conviction of one to whom

art indeed has been a revelation, of one who has found in the fine arts a stimulus to the inception of his own literary productions.

From this or other initial steps, frequently from a combination of literary, pictorial and personal inspirations, Gautier set out to compose his work. His creative imagination was not active as improvisation, and in spite of his extraordinary memory, well-stocked by observation and reading, the author did not depend solely on this source of detail for his development. He wished for accuracy in his evocations, and proceeded toward it not only by a kind of assimilation of the past, by an imagination which entered into the general spirit of antiquity, but also by an effort at documentation, a real research which furnished him with unusual or difficult facts to be combined with the imaginary or memorial material in a single construction. Invention, personal experience and visual or literary documentation were together at the basis of the great part of his production. He took notes on the pictures which he was to describe, on the scenes which he viewed, and even set down the emotional or intellectual impression which he received from them. In his fictitious and poetic construction, the author made use of definite plans, worked out in advance of the actual composition. It may be said that he improvised on a certain inspiration only when he possessed already a solid foundation of facts, gleaned from various sources and ordered in a preliminary pattern which soon became definitive.

In the process of literary development, Gautier's creative imagination is not characterized by the use of wholly perceptual material but is shown, rather, in a combination of perceptual, affective, and conceptual elements. It is true that the author depended largely upon his actual observations, but it will also be recalled that he described the sea better before he had seen it than after: his concept of it was more valuable to him than the perception itself. Of the perceptual material used the visible was most important. Bourget writes of his objectivity, characteristic of his art and fundamental principle of his esthetic theory. "*Leur objectivité est toute visuelle . . . (L'imagination) de Gautier s'extériorise dans des contours et des couleurs. . . . Ce ne*

sont même plus des images, c'est la concrétion même de l'objet. Cet objet n'est pas décrit; il est montré, dans sa solidité, dans son relief, j'allais dire dans ses trois dimensions . . ." (4). The impression of the major portion of Gautier's work is indeed one of exterior substance, but it seems made up of colour rather than form. He notes and records colour first of all; light is less frequent in his evocations and does not usually lend itself to a direct verbal transposition. The three-dimensional form of which Bourget speaks is, however, comparatively rare, and Gautier seems to see in flat masses and to take note of silhouette rather than of relief. The author makes voluntary use of his visual observations, working on a basis of sensory pleasure, and influenced by certain affective associations with specific colours and forms. His perceptual material is not, however, "toute visuelle." The perfumes which are present in certain sensory experiences are recorded as an integral part of the original impression. They are not so great in number as the auditory factors which the author recalls, and his use of the kinesthetic and cœnesthetic elements of a total situation is no less frequent. Gautier's literary construction was thus based on observations of various kinds in so far as perceptual material was concerned. It included also a large amount of conceptual material, now predominantly objective, now predominantly subjective in origin. The imagination of the author is expressed not only in allusions to definite visual objects, but also in phrases which refer to a class of objects, to the ideas which the writer has formed during the course of his observations and reading. He makes use of literary and plastic conceptual comparison; on the one hand, *classes* of facts of which he is cognizant appear in his developments; on the other hand, he writes of his reflections on the exterior world. Here, also, affective material enters. Not only do Gautier's emotional tendencies appear in their influence on colour associations, for example; not only do certain experiences persist in his composition on account of their strong original tone of pleasure or displeasure; but also affective elements may enter autonomously into his composition, and the author will express directly as well

as indirectly his delight in certain sensations or his dislike of certain situations. The literary development may proceed by affective, as by conceptual interpolation. On the whole, however, it is the perceptual elements which are most notable, and their share in his composition is extended by transpositions from the impressions of one sense to those of another. Here again the visual is of primary but not of sole importance. While sound may often become sight, the visible may also be *heard*. Gautier makes use of verbal translations as still another means of giving his whole impression. Transposition, like the use of all kinds of documentary material, like the combination and intermingling of various sources, like the rendering of various single perceptual, affective, and conceptual elements in a situation, is employed in order that the writer may evoke most vividly for his reader the total experience, past or present, into which he himself has been able to enter.

Evocation, again, is the end toward which his stylistic means work. By repetition and by antithesis, by additions and eliminations in the original draught, Gautier proceeds toward concision, and toward precision of effect. His poetry is more concise than his prose, his fiction more exact than the inclusive poetic rendering. He does not hesitate to give actual facts in changed order and emphasis, if the impression gained by this method of verbal translation is more nearly in accord with that of the total original experience. Accentuation, as a matter of fact, was something over which the author had to labour. He was little interested in effects of sound as such, and his true principle of accentuation was a plastic one:

"Chaque phrase . . . doit avoir un commencement, un milieu et une fin. . . . Une phrase est un tout dans lequel on doit pouvoir retrouver, comme dans le corps humain, des os, des muscles, des veines et des nerfs. Si la phrase n'est pas construite selon les lois de la plastique, si elle ne peint pas, si, étant isolée de celles qui la précèdent et qui la suivent, elle n'a pas son caractère, sa couleur, sa beauté propre, elle est défectueuse; il faut la changer" (5).

Nevertheless, he realized that literary composition depended in at least a certain measure on its auditory impression, and his manuscripts denote his work for certain effects, his hesitations in prose,

his difficulties in poetry. Gautier's creative imagination did not proceed with certainty where sound was involved. He was interested in rhythms from a technical point of view, he enjoyed the manipulation of various verse forms, the adaptation of foreign metres to French thought and expression, but he was not sure, from the beginning, of what the auditory impression would be, and found himself involved in a difficult construction when he set about the writing of true poetry.

Further characteristics of Gautier's creative imagination are shown in certain qualities of his finished work. In the first place, it is analytic in character rather than synthetic. Some of the short tales, the *Emaux et Camées*, are unified and single in their impression; the greater portion of the original and critical work, however, is diverse in effect, a succession of more or less related scenes or pictures but not an organic whole nor the microcosm which Gautier praised in Eugène Delacroix and others with true genius. It was the rare synthetic piece which required the greatest effort of composition on Gautier's part, and by the very infrequency of this writing a second quality of his imagination appears: it is economical. Gautier the man was characterized by a certain physical laziness. In his work there are evidences of a similar mental inertia. Notwithstanding the great total volume of his writing, he had to be urged to accomplish the task he set himself. His production shows economy in its plastic content, where imitation of a model made composition easier, and likewise in its prose form, for by its choice Gautier was spared the difficulties inherent in poetry to a man with his lack of interest in sound and of facility in attaining auditory effects. His very verbal gift inclined him to prose composition, to the discursive writing most comparable to conversation. Further, his sentiments were not fully organized into a complete hierarchy, and while the love of beauty and desire for its creation were indeed paramount with him, there existed beside them, unassimilated in large measure, rival tendencies which might at times work in direct opposition to his artistic ideals. Gautier speaks of one such conflict, in itself

of little importance for his creative work but still indicative of the forces at variance within him:

" . . . Il parle du profond ennui qu'il a toujours éprouvé, de ce tiraillement perpétuel de deux hommes en lui: l'un qui lui dit, quand tous ses effets sont prêts pour aller en soirée: 'Couche-toi, qu'est-ce que tu irais faire là!' Et l'autre qui lui dit, quand il est couché: 'Tu aurais dû y aller, tu te serais amusé!'" (6).

More notable was the division between his love for his family and his love of absolute beauty, between his desire for protection and his desire to create plastically. Beside the *Emaux et Camées*, beside certain especial interests, certain attempts to reproduce classic beauty, must be placed a large number of trivial pieces, stories based on the commonplaces of popular interest, innumerable *feuilletons* which brought him in the means of support for his family. It is these latter productions which were favoured by the verbal facility that characterized him. The absence of a single canalization for Gautier's energy, the presence of two main opposing outlets, made it theoretically possible for him to choose between a hard and an easy path. To induce him from the kind of composition favored by its simple verbal form and by its accord with one of his main emotional tendencies to another type of work—a creation in accordance with his artistic ideal and implying a perfection in the difficult poetic execution demanded—there must have been a great force of energy at the disposal of his desire to create plastic beauty. It seems that this was not present in Gautier, and in so far as his production is not forced into this path of difficulty, it may justly be called economical.

" . . . Son expression bizarre *manque de force et de vie*; ses tableaux coloriés avec tant de soin n'ont pas assez d'âme et de chaleur; l'esprit se fatigue à travers les détails dont il abonde, et cherche en vain une pensée unique qui résume ces poésies et se retrouve dans chaque pièce, dans chaque vers. Cette idée-mère, qui doit être au fond de tout livre, n'est pas assez dans celui de M. Gautier: ce sont des rêves à propos de tout, d'une goutte d'eau qui tombe, d'une grenouille qui saute, d'une jeune fille qui court, etc., et cela sans que ces rêves épars se rattachent et se lient entre eux par quelque grande généralité. Encore un défaut que nous reprocherons à la poésie de M. Gautier, c'est qu'elle parle en vers si semblables à la prose que l'oreille, en les écoutant, y peut à peine deviner un rythme . . ." (7).

Gautier's imagination is analytic, economical; it is also literary. He desired to create a plastic beauty in written form, but he went

about this work by a method more literary than plastic. For his subject-matter, indeed, he chose frequently that which might have been adapted to actual pictorial or sculptural representation or, again, that which was analogous in possibilities of treatment to the true plastic subject. Nevertheless, the treatment accorded it was rarely other than literary. Gautier's transposition did not bring about expression only in terms of the visible; the seen was frequently transformed from a stationary composition of forms and colours to a moving representation of the possible phases of its make-up, to a succession of parts comparable to true Homeric description. Even the order of presentation was most often not plastic. Gautier accomplished, in the great majority of his visual descriptions, the ascent to a literary climax. He mingled his representations of the plastic with reflections of intellectual or emotional interests quite foreign to the *reproduction* of the art object. He scorned no verbal resource which might make his writing more evocative, and even when the plastic original was before his eyes, he would in his rendering of it resort to literary means and effect a real transposition in manner of thought which belies his own description of his imagination as more plastic than literary.

Finally, Gautier's imagination may be said to be that of the writer of prose rather than that of the poet, that of the dilettante, of the lover of beauty, rather than that of its creator. According to the definition of Sully-Prudhomme, Gautier would be the perfect critic:

"Le plus équitable, le meilleur critique est l'homme à qui ne manque, pour être un artiste producteur, que la correspondance de la main avec le cerveau, l'homme qui voit avec l'œil et l'âme de l'artiste sans être doué du don manuel de l'exécution. Celui-là, malgré les tendances de son tempérament, n'a pu s'attacher à un genre particulier au point de méconnaître les aptitudes requises par les autres genres; il est évidemment placé dans des conditions plus avantageuses pour reconnaître toutes les qualités et rendre justice à tous les talents" (8).

The author himself had felt, from the time of the preface to *Mademoiselle de Maupin* onward, that the critic was to be differentiated from the truly creative artist. One of his recent commentators has come to the conclusion that he did not, for the most

part, "über ein grosses Wollen hinausgekommen" (9), and Flaubert, who knew him well as man and as writer, who was himself obsessed with a love of beauty very similar to Gautier's own, was of much the same opinion (10). He felt, however, that while Gautier was not a poet, he was indeed a writer:

"Je trouve que tu es sévère pour Gautier! ce n'est pas un homme né aussi poète que Musset, mais il en restera plus, parce que ce ne sont pas les poètes qui restent, mais les écrivains. . . . Gautier a un monde poétique fort restreint, mais il l'exploite admirablement quand il s'en mêle; lis le *Trou du serpent*, c'est cela qui est vrai et atrocement triste. Quant à son *Don Juan* je ne trouve pas qu'il vienne de celui de *Namouna*, car chez lui il est tout extérieur (les bagues qui tombent des doigts amaigris, etc.), et chez Musset tout moral. Il me semble, en résumé, que Gautier a raclé des cordes plus neuves (moins byroniennes) et quant au vers, il est plus consistant. . . . Quel dommage que deux hommes pareils soient tombés où ils en sont; mais s'ils sont tombés, c'est qu'ils devaient tomber, quand la voile se déchire, c'est qu'elle n'est pas de trame solide; quelque admiration que j'aie pour eux deux . . ., ce sont en somme deux hommes du second rang et qui ne font pas peur à les prendre en entier. Ce qui distingue les grands génies c'est la généralisation et la création; ils résument en un type des personnalités éparses et apportent à la conscience du genre humain des personnages nouveaux. Ce n'est pas là qu'il faut chercher l'art de la forme, mais chez les seconds (Horace, Labryère) . . ." (11).

Gautier himself differentiated sharply between the prose author and the poet. The Goncourts present him, in *Charles Demailly*, as the *feuilletoniste* by nature, who is bored with his task because it does not fulfil his artistic ideals and who yet knows that his real force lies in the perfect accomplishment of this task (12). In his article on *l'Excellence de la Poésie*, the younger Gautier had pointed out that an especial endowment was necessary in him who was to be a true poet:

"Il n'est pas facile de faire des vers. . . . Outre l'abondance d'idées, la connaissance de la langue et le don de l'image, il faut un certain sens intime, une disposition secrète, quelque chose qui ne s'acquiert pas et qui tient au tempérament propre et à l'idiosyncrasie; car si les sciences finissent toujours par ouvrir les portes de leur sanctuaire à qui vient y frapper souvent, la poésie, la musique et la peinture font voir un goût plus dédaigneux et ne se livrent qu'à certaines organisations d'élite. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que l'on devient un grand artiste sans travailler, mais que les plus profondes études qui feraient de vous un savant n'en feront pas un artiste" (13).

The prose author could not compete with this genius which, with beauty and goodness, composed a "rayonnante trinité, magnifiques présents que Dieu seul peut faire, qui sont au-dessus de la gén-

érosité des rois et que ne sauraient atteindre les plus constants efforts de la volonté humaine."

"C'est une vérité que les prosateurs cherchent en vain à se dissimuler sous l'éclat oriental de leur style; ils ne peuvent écrire en vers. Le poète, au contraire, écrit en prose quand il veut descendre à cette besogne, avec une perfection ciselée dont aucun prosateur n'approche. Un chanteur sait parler, mais un orateur ne sait pas chanter. Les oiseaux volent et marchent; les chevaux, si fringante et si fière que soit leur allure, ne peuvent que courir, et le galop du plus fin coureur anglais ne vaut pas le vol d'un aigle; la double nature du poète teint à celle de l'hippographe; nul animal de la terre ou du ciel ne peut le devancer à la course ou au vol; son aile a l'envergure plus large et fouette plus vigoureusement l'azur de l'Ether que l'aile du condor ou du fabuleux oiseau rock" (14).

Gautier himself appears to have been the prose writer rather than the poet, in spite of his occasional poetic achievements. Depending upon his verbal facility, following the path of least resistance and economizing his effort, making use of literary means in spite of his theory as to plastic art in writing, he brought forth a great volume of work which indeed served to satisfy some of his tendencies, but which was none the less in contradiction to his artistic theory. There was in this production a very close approach to the perfection of the *genre*, but the production was in prose and not in verse, and by this very fact gives a partial characterization of the imagination of its author. His particular artistic psychology is made more plain by the fact that he enjoyed contemplation more than action. His ideal of beauty was higher than the end toward which he strove in actual accomplishment. He was content—or at least willing—to produce in a medium and by a method foreign to this ideal when exterior circumstances forced him to some work. He was not driven to attempt, throughout his life and in spite of external pressure, a creation solely in accord with his ideas of absolute Beauty. In the work which he undertook, moreover, creation was not an end in itself. Originality of thought seemed unnecessary provided perfection in form were sought, and this perfection was better attained by the reworking of something already given than by an invention of the new which might not be susceptible of such a high degree of polish. The activity involved in the pursuit of the original was less pleasurable than that contemplation of beauty possible when

there had been accomplished a facile and yet well-formed representation of the enduring appearances of life or a small but technically perfect literary cameo.

It must always be kept in mind that no existence can be reduced to a single principle, that the predominating characteristic in a man's disposition will not always rule there. The pressure of daily needs, passing enthusiasms induced by society, friendly importunities, etc., all work against the possibility of a closed hierarchy of emotional or intellectual tendencies determining artistic creation. Various influences are accepted by the individual, others are imposed upon him, and with the assimilation of each one he proceeds, a different man, to the next experience which may await him. Nevertheless, there are certain inherent characters in the man which develop in these successive situations and which form the enduring body of his individuality.

"Je t'ai dit que je suis né *plusieurs* et que je suis mort *un seul*. L'enfant qui vient est une foule innombrable, que la vie réduit assez tôt à un seul individu, celui qui se manifeste et qui meurt. Une quantité de Socrates est née avec moi, d'où peu à peu se détacha le Socrate qui était dû aux magistrats et à la ciguë.—Et que sont devenus tous les autres?—Idées. Ils sont restés à l'état d'idées. Ils sont venus demander à être, et ils ont été refusés. Je les gardais en moi, en tant que mes doutes et mes contradictions. . . . Parfois ces germes de personnes sont favorisés par l'occasion, et nous voici très près de changer de nature. Nous nous trouvons des goûts et des dons que nous ne soupçonnions pas en nous; le musicien devient stratège, le pilote se sent médecin, et celui dont la vertu se mirait et se respectait elle-même se découvre un Cacus caché et une âme de voleur" (15).

Théophile Gautier had desired to be a painter or, failing this, a poet. His endowment was essentially that of a prose-writer, and it was this which he became in the varying circumstances of his existence. He desired to create beauty, to make for himself thereby a glory which should be as permanent as his creation, but especially he loved to contemplate beauty, and his work reflects the coincidence and also the divergence of these desires.

Gautier took little account of originality. His production, in subject-matter and in phraseology, was largely a composite of what had gone before it, and the author depended upon the very combination of diverse elements, not original but each lovely in itself, for his especial representation of old or new phases of

Beauty. It was this representation which was his objective, and the method which he used to attain it is particularly significant for his contribution to nineteenth century writing. Gautier wished to evoke for his readers that vision of plastic beauty which he himself had, and to this end he chose a plastic subject. His means of presenting it, however, were those of the literary artist, and while he employed perceptual, and particularly visual, material to an unusual extent, he did not depend wholly on it for his evocation, but by an appeal to all the senses, by an effort to call up all the elements of his original impression, sensory, reflective, emotional, he sought to effect his evocation. He did not forget that he was working in the medium of words, where there were possible a combination of material and a progression toward the climax of an experience not available to the plastic arts. The resources of the prose-writer were his, and he used them fully for the presentation of plastic beauty. This beauty he loved; it was the object of his greatest emotional experience and the centre of his affections. By its place in his work, Gautier shows himself of the typical Romantic lineage. He belongs to a new generation, however, in the voluntary impersonality of his presentations. As he diverges from the direct self-expression of traditional Romanticism, he leads the way to a new school of writing where originality will be little prized if form be perfect, where sensory elements will predominate over all others, where an impersonality based on absence of feeling will replace his own objective rendering of a beauty which he yet wholly loved. Théophile Gautier is a figure significant of the transition from the lyrical expressions of Romanticism to the formal presentations of Art for art's sake.

1. *Dans l'Artiste*, 1839, 2^e série, t. I, 7^e livraison, pp. 91-94.

2. Cf. a contemporary criticism of the volume of poetry which appeared in 1838:

" . . . M. Gautier . . . possède sans doute à merveille les secrets du rythme et de la césure; il déploie souvent, dans ses tableaux, une verve éblouissante; sur un fond capricieux, il trace quelquefois, en se jouant, les plus gracieuses fantaisies. Mais, toutes ces qualités, ce n'est pas à lui-même qu'il les doit, c'est à une étude approfondie de la poésie nouvelle, telle que nous l'ont montrée les *Orientales*, les *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie*, *Joseph Delorme*, et plus récemment *il Pianto*. Il imite tour à

tour la splendide fantaisie de M. Hugo et l'énergique concision de M. Barbier; l'heureuse turbulence de *Don Paëz* et la poétique familiarité des *Consolations*. Mais parmi ces modèles c'est M. Hugo, il faut le dire, qui est imité avec le plus d'amour et aussi de talent . . ." D.M., *Critique littéraire* . . . *La Comédie de la Mort*, p. 126.

3. *Le Berger*, dans *la Peau de tigre*, (1866), pp. 112-153.
4. BOURGET, *Pages de critique* . . . , I, 84-85.
5. FEYDEAU, *Souvenirs intimes*, p. 112.
6. *Journal des Goncourt*, II, 185; 14 mars 1864.
7. L. K., *Poésies de M. Théophile Gautier*. The material disadvantages of the life of a *feuilletoniste* to one of Gautier's disposition, who yet found in this *métier* satisfaction for certain fundamental impulses, are noted by his friend Augustus Maquet:
 " . . . Théophile Gautier a dû se trouver mal à l'aise dans le *feuilleton*; esprit indépendant, peu agressif, passionné pour le beau, esprit paresseux et chiche d'attention, il est peu fait pour le rude métier du journaliste qui court les théâtres, étiquète les ouvrages d'un musée et enrégistre tous les petits scandales desquels peut résulter une bouffonnerie. . . ." (Study of 1838, which appeared in *la Galerie de la Presse* . . . , cited by Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres*, I, 175-180.)
8. SULLY-PRUDHOMME, *L'Expression dans les beaux-arts*, p. 379.
9. LUITZ, *Aesthetik* . . . , p. 124.
10. Lettre de Flaubert à Louis Bouilhet, 10 décembre 1854, *Correspondance* III, 19:

"Pourquoi crois-je que d'ici à peu nous aurons du sieur Théo des fossiles quelconques comme nous avons eu du latin après *Melanis*? Etait-il bête, l'autre jour, ce brave garçon! (Son acharnement sur 'écarté', sa théorie qu'il ne faut pas être harmonieux, etc.) Allons, pas fort! pas fort du tout! Si tu savais comme je t'ai aimé frénétiquement quand, au coin de la rue, après l'avoir quitté, tu m'as dit: 'Non . . . non . . . solide comme la colonne! comme la colonne! s . . . n . . . de D . . . !'"

Cf. his letter to Louise Colet, written in August, 1852, in regard to the *Emaux et Camées*:

"Je suis bien de l'avis du Philosophe relativement aux vers de Gautier; ils sont très faibles, et l'ignorance des gens de lettres est monstrueuse. *Melanis* a paru une œuvre érudite, il n'y a pas un bachelier, qui ne devrait savoir tout cela! mais est-ce qu'on lit, est-ce qu'on a le temps? Qu'est-ce que ça leur fait? On patauge à tort et à travers. On n'est loué que par ses amis, on perd la tête, on s'enfonce dans une obésité de l'esprit que l'on prend pour de la santé. C'était pourtant un homme né que ce bon Gautier et fait pour être un artiste. Mais le journalisme, le courant commun, la misère (non, ne calumnions pas ce lait des forts), le putinage de l'esprit plutôt, car c'est cela, qui l'a abaissé souvent au niveau de ses confrères. . . ." *Correspondance* II, 128.

11. *Correspondance* II, 162-163.
12. *Loc. cit.*, p. 83:

"Alors je traîne un fauteuil, je mets sur la table le papier, les plumes, l'encre, le chevalet de torture; et ça m'ennuie! ça m'a toujours ennuyé d'écrire, et puis c'est si inutile! . . . Là, j'écris comme ça, posément comme un écrivain public. . . . Je ne vais pas vite,—il m'a vu écrire, lui,—mais je vais toujours, parce que, voyez-vous, je ne cherche pas le mieux. Un article, une page, c'est une chose de premier coup, c'est

comme un enfant : ou il est ou il n'est pas. Je ne pense jamais à ce que je vais écrire. Je prends ma plume et j'écris. Je suis homme de lettres : je dois savoir mon métier. Me voilà devant le papier : c'est comme un clown sur le tremplin. . . . Et puis j'ai une syntaxe très en ordre dans la tête : je jette mes phrases en l'air, . . . comme des chats ! je suis sûr qu'elles retomberont sur leurs pattes. C'est bien simple, il n'y a qu'à avoir une bonne syntaxe. Je m'engage à montrer à écrire à n'importe qui : je pourrais ouvrir un cours de feuilleton en vingt-cinq leçons ! Tenez, voilà de ma copie : pas de rature. . . ."

13. *Op. cit.*, du 16 janvier 1837 ; dans les *Fusains et eaux-fortes*, pp. 47-48.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

15. VALÉRY, *Euphrosinos*, pp. 151-152.

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